MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

A PROSPECTIVE GLASSE,

WHEREIN

The Child in understanding is enabled to see what the wicked Counsellours did above twenty yeares ago *(To maintain the Protestant Religion:)* as clearly as the Man can see what they have done these 3. years past, for the same pretended end, with the helpe of CHRYSTALL SPECTACLES.

June 28 1644

Reader, *There is a Book called* A good-Souldier, &c. *newly come from under the Presse, not yet abroad; And (because it is more then probable) the last Booke the Author shall ever put his hand unto, he is willing to adde some things thereto, an admired and adored Providence has produced and brought to his hands; which he conceiveth very necessary to be committed to heart now, and to stand upon everlasting record for us and ours; That we may see by this one sheete, if our purse can reach no further, how to regulate our selves and our warre; our sorrowes and our joyes; our prayers and our praises: And our Children now, (which is the chiefe arme) may see as aforesaid: For all the Adversaries works these three last yeares, have been To make* Through-lights *into the house and chambers of his Imaginarie; that, what lay in the dark these 20. yeares, might be made most conspicuously legible as are Text, and indeed, Capitall or bloudie Characters. That and this, which immediately followes, must begin brokenly, because of the Reference it makes to the page and line in the Printed Copy.*

A Dde. Our Discomfitures instruct us touching the ground of this warre, maintained against the *Beast*; A matter wherein we *meane Men*, for the most part, (and *great Men* also) are quite mistaken. We maintain the *Cause of GOD*, there is no doubt of that; but whether that be the *Cause* which prevailes with us, that is the doubt. We hate the Whore, *Romish Babylon*, and are resolved *to burne her with fire*, and to make our sword drunk with the blood of her slaine: But why all this heate of anger, and zeale of indignation? why hate we her? why use we all meanes to make her desolate? To tell you the truth, and lay open the bottom of our quarrell; Because *she has sinned against us*, has robbed, spoiled, murthered us; because she has taken *peace from the earth*; would make us desolate; therefore we hate her, and would make her desolate; verily there is the ground of our quarrell. As for the dishonours she has done to our *Master in Heaven*, and *KING of Saints*: All that is little or nothing to us. Men of private spirits we, The zeale for our own house shakes us, the zeale for Gods House mooves us not at all: We could never to this day *weepe in the Churches mournings*; nor now can we *rejoyce in her joy*. The time was when the *Liberties* of the Church, and Rights of her Lords Kingdome were trod under by the foote of pride, I meane by the foote of Church-men; That mooved not. But when our liberties P. 37. l. 6.

and birth-rights were trod-under by the Judges of the land. This, this pierced us to the heart, such private spirits we have. The Lord looked upon this, and does looke upon it, and now takes a course to instruct us to discretion; *put your selves in aray against* Babylon *round about: All ye that bend the bow shoote at her and spare no arrowes*, that is, use all meanes to make her desolate. And why so? why so fierce against her, and by Gods command too? Not because she has injured, and vexed and spoiled us as aforesaid: but this is it, *for she has sinned against the Lord*; It must be now as then it was, there must be the ground of the quarrell. Surely the Lord will turne back the weapons, with which we *fight against Babylon*, till we know this and understand it for our good. That our zeale against *Babylon* must be for God, and His house; not for our selves and our houses. Not *for she has robbed us*: but *she has robbed God, the LORD GOD of gods*, Him she has robbed of His glory: and the *LORD CHRIST KING of Saints*, Him she has robbed of His honour. Blessed for ever. She has blasphemed that Holy, Holy, Holy Name; Prophaned His Holy Day (by a law:) defiled His house; imparied His Words; destroyed His worship; vilified, abused and ruine His pretious servants; *put your selves in aray against Babylon round about; all ye that bend the bow, shoote at her, spare no arrowes*; For *SHE HATH SINNED AGAINST THE LORD*. Verily, that must be the ground of our quarrell, our bending all our force against *Romish Babylon*, to make her desolate, *for she has sinned against the Lord*; And when the Lord has instructed us to this discretion we shall prosper to a wonder, and not before. 10. The *Israell* of, &c. returne to *pag.* 37. *li.* 6.

Ier. 50. 14.

ver. 14.

Pag 38. *lin.* 11. *Cause* (adde) and a warre with a zeale for God and His house; not for themselves and their houses. So, *&c.* Ibid.

Pag. 40. *li.* 4. *Men* (adde) *A.* But why praise and thanks for successe in this warre, a Civill warre? Heathenish *Rome* never gave thanks in such a case; They had a *Civill warre* amongst them more then once, but once most notorious it was over all the world: But then they concluded very well, *who ever of the twaine had the victory, neither should have cause of Tryumph.*

B. They concluded very well; for there the contention was betwixt two men, the Father in law, and the Son: The one could not *endure a superiour, nor th' other an equall.* So they brake to pieces like the barrs of a Castle, and divided the whole world with them not into fractions, but, very equally, into two even proportions. So it was then; It is cleane otherwise now; Here is not a man against man, as it was in *Rome*, and in *England* also, not two Centuries ago: But *man* against *GOD*; Earth, the men there, against Heaven, the Church there. Here is the very same warre againe, for there is no *New* thing under the Sun, as once it was, *Michaell* with His Angells; the Dragon and his Angels. Here is the Lord Christ with His Forces on the one side; His Adversary and enemy, truly called *Anti-christ*, with his forces on the other side. And now the whole Christian world is fallen to pieces, and are divided, but not into two equall portions. The forces of the Lamb are but few in sight; the forces of the Beast are for multitudes like the sands by the sea shore. Their King, (he retaines his old name still, *Abaddon, Apollyon*) marching on the head of the Troopes; his Bishops with their King in heart and affection, with droves and heards of Priests, I had almost said Beasts, and let the word passe, for they mind nothing but their pasture, these with all the people all over the land, (whom the Priests have made as brutish as themselves) have joyned forces against the *LORD CHRIST*. And now the *LORD CHRIST has taken to Himselfe power* (that is, has exerted, and put forth His marveilous power,) against this *angry Nation*, throwing downe some; casting out others; taking others like *Bulls* in a net; laying others heapes upon

* *Moses*, Seeing an *Egyptian* fight with an *Israelite*, slew the *Egyptian*: but seeing an *Israelite* fight with his brother, he but chid the *Israelite*. This instructs us, saith a noble Scholler, how to deale in *Doctrinall controversies*; I adde, and *practicall*; I meane in our war with the *Egyptian* now; & in our contentions with *Israelites* our brethren. *Moses cum certaret, &c.* Bac. *de Aug.* 8.

upon heapes. And now that the Lord Christ has wrought such salvations, shall not His people rejoyce and be exceeding glad? shall they not sing the high praises of their God? Surely, surely they will sing, yea *shout for joy:* (for) [g] *When it goeth well with the righteous the City rejoyceth: and when the wicked perish there is shouting:* [h] *The righteous shall rejoyce when he seeth the vengeance, he shall wash his feet in the blood of the wicked.* Surely we can no more stop the mouth of the Righteous in this action of praise, then we can some mighty running streame (from thence the word is borrowed) *Eruct abunt tanquam scaturigines aquarum; They shall* ABUNDANTLY *utter the memory of thy great goodnesse, and shall sing of thy Righteousnesse.* The true *Israels* have the same cause now of rejoycing, as once they had, when they saw their enemies dead upon the sands. Their victory indeed is not sorfully compleated, but the battle now is the *Lords*; the sword His; and charged to His servants hands now by the *Lord* himselfe (not *peace but a sword*:) The victory His, *His servants overcome*, now, as ever they did, and ever shall doe *by the blood of the Lamb* [a], Therfore unto the *Lamb* they ascribe the glory: And now do sing the high praises of the Lord, saying, "*Rejoyce ye Heavens, and ye that dwell in them*, for now is come sal-"vation and strength, and the Kingdome of our GOD, and the power of His *CHRIST*, now "making manifest His salvations upon His servants, and judgements on the wicked, *Amen.* It will be said,

A. The *Adversary* and *enemy* will rejoyce also for their successe in *Lancashire*?

B. 1. Let them rejoyce, [b] they are *bid* so to doe, *Rejoyce and be glad* [b] thou Atheisticall Beast, who sayest of that house, (which supplied thy poore desolate Mother with Money to buy thee milke when thou wast young; and afterwards, as thou didst grow up, to buy for thee and thy brother strong meates, who sayest of that house,) *raze it, raze it even to the ground: Rejoyce and be glad thou Edomite*, It is spoken in scorne and indignation of the Lord; The plaine meaning is this, *Weepe and howle thou child of Edom*, The Lord, the Judge of all the world is righteous; has He not determined a strange destruction unto thee? Certainely as the Lord has a bottle for His servants teares, so has He a barrell for their blood: God will require it at thy hands, *for of every* * *Beast will He require it.* The Lord will correct His people with this rod of His wrath, and then the rod must to the fire: so, though this *Edomite* with his companions do rejoyce and are glad now, yet their joy shall end in a bitter lamentation [b], *Amen.*

2. God does not only treasure up wrath against these who have shed His servants blood, have been chiefe actors therein; but He will be avenged of them, who are but *lookers on*, beholding their butcheries, villanies, insolencies, outrages, with some contentment; *Thou shouldst not have looked on the day of thy brother; neither shouldest thou have rejoyced over the children of Iudah in the day of their destruction.* God will be avenged of His enemies, because they looked on His servants distresse, and rejoyced to see it. [c] It is clean otherwise with the Righteous; They must *looke on* the destruction of the wicked nation (with some pitty to their persons) and they must rejoyce, and shout for joy: *The Righteous shall rejoyce when he seeth the vengeance, he shall wash his feet in the blood of the wicked:* They must rejoyce and sing the high praises of their God, for that destruction upon the wicked in *Lincolne* and casting of them forth thence: O wonderfull! how marvelously did God appeare there for His holy ones, and against the wicked traine! And for His *salvations* in the West, *Waymouth*, and all along; But most eminent to His poore servants in *Lyme**: I say no more but His salvations there: I should say and say the Reader upon it, how the *Lord in magnificence has magnified His arme* [d]: All His works are glorious, but this was gloriously glorious. The Lord helped when there was no help (that is His manner:) *He* strengthened a * weake and feeble people, when strength failed; made them doe valiantly, thrust off a viperous generation of men; muzled the mouthes of those two Beasts, *Maurice* and *Paulet*, checked the bridle in their chapps, and turned them away, praise we the

[g] Prov. 11.10.
[h] Psal. 58.10.

נבע

Psal. 45.7.
Exod. 15.1.

[a] Matth. 1.6.34.
[b] Rev. 12.

Lam. 4.21.

[a] Gen. 9.5,6.
[b] Deut. 32.35, unto ver. 44.
* This speaks heavy things to the *Neither-landers*, *Holland* and those places, who are not only *lookers-on*, but helpers-on of the destruction, woe, woe unto them, saith the Lord.
[b] Obad. 12.
[c] Psal. 58.10.
* This detracts nothing from their *Excellencies*, those dearely beloved Lord Generals Earles of *Essex* and *Warwick*.
[d] Exod. 15.1.

ראו נאה

* Zech. 12.1. The enemy would swallow up that poore Towne; their God made it *a cup of trembling* to the be-

Segers: They liſted at it to throw it downe: It was as a *burdenſome ſtone* unto them, and beate in pieces 130. Commanders and Officers, 32. Gunners, 2500. Common-Souldiers. 6 Obad 17. Pſal. 35.10. * בְּרִית

Lord, *who has ſo wrought with men this day:* All that is within us praiſe His holy Name: And for thoſe ſtrange deliverances, thoſe ſeparating mercies to His excellent ſervants the Nobles and Worthies before *Yorke*; and for the confidence the Church has touching His ſalvations there, and compleat victory anon, praiſe ye the Lord. O that, &c. returne to *p.* 40. *l.* 4.

Pag. 40. *li.* 38. To the laſt line praiſe, (adde) ſurely *Lyme* will ſay ſo, for whom God appearing in His glory, has ſo defended, ſo delivered; there is *boſineſſe* ſure: And *London* will ſay. *&c.* returne to *p.* 40. *l.* laſt.

Pag. 43. *l.* 26. Praiſe evermore (adde) all his bones ſhall praiſe the Lord. The bones are the * ſtrength of a man, the meaning is, he will praiſe God with all his ſtrength, with all his ſoule, and all his life long, and all over his life, he writes praiſe upon, *&c.* returne to *l.* 27.

Pag. 101. *l.* 24. Above (adde) above the Parliament, for the eſtabliſhment of our Laws and juſt liberties. Above the Aſſembly for the ſinging out a Church-way; we cannot place our confidence above, though, &c. *Ibid.*

Pag. 181. *l.* 26. Uſe, (adde) We will take a quick view of the wayes and counſells (in ſight) have been taken *To maintaine the Proteſtant Religion*, and will retire no farther back then to the time when the Prince, now King, went to the moſt *Catholick King* for a Wife: *The maintenance of the Proteſtant Religion*, the zeale for that, that was it, the pretext, the varniſh caſt over all. Therefore he went into *Spaine* with all his Counſellours (except one, the chiefeſt, and another they found there) *Dick, Jack* and *Tom*, of known *ſufficiencie* and *integrity* all foure *to advance* ſuch a buſineſſe, and, *the Proteſtant Religion.* Therefore the Pope bleſſed him: and he bleſſed the Pope; wherefore? *for the maintenance of the Proteſtant Religion.* No queſtion of that. This Treaty ſucceeded not, for our Miniſters and Counſellours were too foul, and *Spaine* too honeſt, and their *zeale* too *hot* in their way. Then the *Father* wiſh the ſame affections, and ſome change of Counſellours, advanced into *France*, there to advance a match for his *Son* with the *Daughter* of the moſt *Chriſtian King*; and, by his Agents, quickly concluded the matter; and, quickly after, his dayes: Juſt at the time when, 1. He had laid a *Platforme* of Government, or foundation, whereon his Son might build (a *Babell* of confuſion.) 2. At the very point of time, when he began to live, that is, began to awaken out of ſleepe; To recover his ſences, thereby to diſcerne the pathes he had trod-in, how he had dealt with his Kingdome, and how he had been dealt with by his Miniſters and ſervants, *pandars* only for their luſts, and *ſubtill breakers for Babylon.* And 3. which ſhould have been ſaid before, when he plainly ſaw, how he had been ſome yeares before, over-reached in that, he himſelfe calls *King-craft*, which vexed him not a little, for therein he thought he excelled all the Kings on the earth: I was ſaying, About this point of time, the Father died of an Ague in the ſpring as the rumour was: And if ſo, then might it have anſwered the Proverbe, and prooved good phyſick, had there not a *cup* been put into his hands, and a *plaiſter* to his ſide; Who mingled the one, and applied the other, was more then muttered at that time, and ſpoken out in a large Remonſtrance from the mouth of the Kingdom two yeares after. Their King on earth turned away his eare then; but the King of Heaven liſtened and heard, and made inquiſition after that work of darkneſſe, and in the darkneſſe to us; but *manifeſt in His ſight*, with whom the actors have to doe, *unto Whoſe eyes all things are naked and open*; where we leave that work, and caſt back our eye a little upon the King in his winding ſheete, carrying forth to the grave, and his Son *following the heire:* And having diſpatched that days work, not many days after he followed on his way to *Dover*, there met his Queene with her Idols, her Prieſts and ſervices, and all other advantages, whereby *to promote the Proteſtant Religion.* A Queene *Mary* from *France* was as likely to doe it in the ſame way, and by the like Counſellours, as did th' other from *Spaine*: And now, as then, in Queene *Maries* dayes, we muſt have (and all the reaſon in the world for that) the yoake, as of *Spaine* then,

Villars. Conington. Porter.

Heb 4.13. Τετραχηλίζω.

then, ſo of *France* now; But the yoake muſt be warily put on upon true *Engliſh* necks, who were ever good ſubjects, and could never be made ſlaves: Yet thus the enemy wrought to *yoake our Nation*, they changed the *ſcene* and the *ſtage*, and wrought ſome *outworks* firſt, to be performed and acted in the neighbour Kingdomes.

1 Ships and men were preſſed unto *Cadice*, commonly called *Cales*, for no end (in ſight) unleſſe to declare to his moſt Catholick Majeſty, That he and his Brother in *England* were friends: the one as cordiall as the other in the maintenance of the ſame Catholick Cauſe, I ſhould ſay, *the Proteſtant Religion*. Then Ships were ſent into *France*, but returned not, for it was not intended. Then to the *Iſle of Ree*, there to empty the land of her Patriots and Worthies, the *Mighty men and men of Warre* [a]: A way very direct to take away the *ſtay* and *ſtaffe*, ſo to *upbold the Kingdome, and maintaine the Proteſtant Religion*. Then Ships and men were preſſed to appeare before *Rochell*, (now the Readers heart trembles,) for what end GOD knowes; To ſacrifice that City to the will and deſire of the *French* Lady? yes, for that end, but we muſt ſay, *To maintaine the Religion, Rights and Liberties of that City*. Then a *Peace* was concluded with *Spaine*; And the *Palatinate* left to wallow in their own blood, and to ſinke yet deeper into ruines wherein they are, and all that to ſinke theſe Kingdomes even with the *Palatinate*, into the place of Dragons. Theſe were the preparatory *works* acted abroad: The *Counſells* at home were theſe, and thus they wrought to make their King an abſolute Monarch, and his people compleate ſlaves: Therefore it muſt be as in *France*; *Parliaments* muſt not be, or they muſt be broken. *Puritans*, (the excellent of the earth) theſe muſt not be neither, or they muſt be made *vile* [d], as perſons *devoted to deſtruction* [e]: The common people all muſt be * diſpirited, their *Laws*, and *Liberties*, and birth-rights taken from them: All this was more then upon deſigne; and choiſe inſtruments there were, [a] *Perſons*, and [b] *Courts*, which could take away *Law* and *Goſpell* all at once. But they proceeded at firſt gradually ſtep by ſtep, yet becauſe they could not make haſt ſufficient, they even began by *force*, againſt all the Rules of Policie and common reaſon; And bilited Souldiers here and there, and a deſigne there was for *German horſe*. Wherefore? To make way for Popery and tyranny? Yes, therefore; But the profeſſion and ſemblance was *for the maintenance of the ſubjects liberties; and of the Proteſtant Religion*. But this deſigne, ſuſpected too violent then, and might worke contrary, at that time, (as now it does) was laid aſide, till Counſellours could gaine more diſcretion and ſtrength, and things might ripen; ſo they fell to *fraud* againe, and wrought cunningly. Biſhops were brave *Engenceres*, now they come in with their two maſter-pieces, and ſpread them all over the land, like butter upon bread, or the hoary froſt upon a greene medow, *Ignorance* (that mother of Witchcrafts) and *Prophaneneſſe*: Courts, Pulpits and Preſſes, all were preſſed for that ſervice, To promote and ſpread thoſe twinnes, for they live and dye together; *Ignorance* and *Prophaneneſſe*, begat of *Incubus* and *Succubus*, the Devill and his Biſhop; All this *to maintaine the Proteſtant Religion*. Then the Biſhops preachings and prayings, and prayſings, were all to advance the Kings Throne above Gods: to ſet the Biſhop as high in the ſame *Zenith* of power, and to ſet the poore people under their foot: And when they could come to a full ſtop at that point, then all the forementioned were done for *edifying* of Organs and Organ-pipes, Croſſes and Crucifixes: and the people in *Ignorance* and *Prophaneſſe*. So it was in truth; and not ſo much as in *ſhew* and *ſemblance*, for the *edifying of the people in their moſt holy faith*. Therefore they had a notorious device, to tenter-forth the Kings *Prerogative*, and to lift it up above the Starres; They made him Lord over the *LORDS Day*; he might work his pleaſure thereon, and *force* his people ſo to doe, and then he might Lord it over them, and doe what he lifted. See now their horrid invention, hatched in Hell, brought forth out of the depths of Satan. Thus they invented, rather the Devill in them.

[a] Iſa. 3. 2.
[d] *Si fuerit totum honoris, &c. Sal.* pag. 113.
[e] 1 Cor. 4. 13. ὡς περικαθάρματα, Buxh.
* Cut the ſinewes of their Armes (the ſinewes of war, not money) lay taxes upon their eſtates; yokes upon their necks; load upon their conſciences; ſo you ſhall *diſpirit* a people; for it was never known, *That the bleſſing of Iudah and Iſſachar did meet in one*: never was a Nation like a Lyon for courage, and an Aſſe crouching under burdens, &c. *Benedictio Iuda*, The noble Scholler has much more, *lib. 8 de Ang. & Dr. Alablaſter Beato, Mainwaring, Weſton, &c.*
[b] High commiſſion, Star-chamber, Courts of Iuſtice.
The Adverſary by *fraud* wrought moſt effectually, yet, he thought, but ſloggiſhly.

The Sabbath [if we might use the word, our Bishops said, we must not, being *Jewish*; *Sunday* then a more proper name, for that name is, as the Bishops practise was, his Chappell and his household, all *heathenish*,] that must be celebrated with a *Tabor and a Pipe* *; with *rioting* and *drunkennesse on that day*; And all this, *to maintaine the Protestant Religion*. And so it must be published in the Churches by the Ministers there; and if they *strained at this gnat*, they must be constrained to leave Gods house, and their own; they must be thrust-out of both, because they could not shew their zeale *to maintaine the Protestant Religion*.

* *Vulgus cupiens voluptatum, & sic principi trahat, laetum*, Tacit. *An.* l. 14. c. 4. We love May-games; but if our Bishop will be the *fools* in our *Maurice*; oh how fecond are we!

Then a *Service booke* was printed in Romane letters every word; and with *Romes* Authority; then posted into *Scotland*, charged upon our bretheren there, that they with us (there was no doubt of our zeale for the *Service-booke*, who were so zealous for the Sabbath) might shew the like zeale for *the maintenance of the Protestant Religion*. [I passe over now the way the Bishops tooke, to hold Gods sword, and *stay his plague*, (viz.) by commanding a Masse-book to be read in the Churches; and forbidding preaching: A cold remedy, God knowes, like the *Censer* without fire. I passe over also what the Bishops did at the Printing-houses, how injurious they were to all good Authours: how forward they were to mid-wife forth the vile and abominable; And all *to promote the Protestant Religion*.] Hitherto they wrought by *fraud*; it would not doe: Our Bretheren were as zealous for Christ, as the Bishops were for Antichrist. The Adversaries zeale for *Rome* wrought high; our bretherens zeal wrought for the *Lord Christ* as high; higher it could not be, nor more contrary to all opposition. The Bishops thought, our bretheren would have admitted this *Service-booke*, as we that cursed Declaration for sports, with other Declarations, into our Churches. No, not they; They thrust from them with all their heads, hands and hearts, that cursed book; and thrust-out the Bishops all, all this at one thrust. O LORD! Who is like thee, *glorious in holinesse, fearfull in praises; doing wonders?* now the Adversary drives furiously: The *Sea* of *Rome* wrought high now; What *fraud* (too *flunish*) could not doe, *force* must doe quickly, then was its season. So the warre begun, the Kings in name, the Bishops warre indeed: But, for all the Bishops heate, God will have a *coole conference*, and matters must be heard and argued on both sides, so as all things looked strait towards a composed peace; and a *writing* was drawne to assure it, which, two domineering Lords, *Canterbury* and *Strafford*, extreamely storming-at, and utterly detesting, prevailed with their Master to retract, and retreate from his word, then to sacrifice his faith to them, and the innocent paper to the fire by the hands of the hangman: [A shrewd *Omen* what must befall these two *Incendiaries*; The one has his due, the other shall be paid just in the like coine shortly:] But we suppose them both living men, and doubling their diligence; Yet notwithstanding all their *fierce God* will have a Parliament; *God* has His end, *His glory*, the *good of His poore people*. The Adversary and enemy have their ends. So a Parliament is [a] called, and quickly [b] dissolved; because their zeale was not boyled high enough *for the maintenance of that warre?* Yes, that was their very reason: But this reason was notorious and legible; "*No need of a Parliament*; *The King with his Counsellours*, (*Canterbury* "*Strafford Cottington*,) would undertake such triviall matters as these, *The defence of the subjects liberties: And the maintenance of the Protestant Religion*." Therefore the Adversary doubled his files, his hopes and his diligence, and drives on the warre furiously, and would carry downe with them, in the same storme of passion, the Souldiers of *Essex*, and *Hartford-shire*, with them to curse the *Scots* then, our Bretheren now; But see the wonders of the Lord, the operations of his hands! These Souldiers cursed the Pope, and his Agents: blessed us and our Bretheren altogether: And then it was said, *what has the Lord done!* But what was the Adversaries aime and end in all this? To destroy the name and Religion of *Israell*. So it was, though we durst not say so *for our eares*. We must say, or else say nothing, That all the Adversaries

Now the Adversaire was mad with rage, and upon his idoll.

a *April* 13, 1640.
b *May* 5, 1640.

verſaries did, as aforeſaid, together with their *Envie* toward the Righteous; Their deareſt affections towards the vileſt perſons; Their zeal for the Popes ſervice, All this was *To maintain the Proteſtant Religion:* ſo was that horrid Oath: but enough of that.

Then the LORD wrought with His Servants like a *God:* The Adverſary with his ſervants like himſelf. The *Lord* will have another Parliament: ſo will the Adverſary too, *To maintain the Proteſtant Religion*, ſayes the *Lord* (and His Word muſt ſtand:) for the ſame end (in ſhew and ſemblance) ſayes the Enemy alſo: but indeed To deſtroy *Religion, Lawes, Liberties* and all. The Adverſary will have a Parliament, juſt ſuch another as they had in the day of our firſt Queene *Mary*, 1553. *October* the 20. which began with a *Maſſe:* And as they began, ſo they followed on, againſt the LORD *Chriſt*; the moſt notorious Parliament that ever was in the world. The Lord Chriſt raigned then, but He *took to Himſelfe power* now (that is, He put it forth in all His peoples ſight.) He will have a Parliament 1640. *November* 3. which ſhall begin with *Faſting* and *Prayer*, and it ſhall doe cleane contrary to that the Parliament did then 91. yeares agoe; That it ſhall, for *God* will have it ſo. So ſayes the Adverſary alſo; But if he ſees any *tendency* that way, then he can diſſolve, and break the Parliament at pleaſure after their old manner. No, but they cannot: The *Lord* will have a Parliament which ſhall hold the faſter for the others breaking: It was gained by Prayer, it ſhall be eſtabliſhed by a Law. And the ὁ Κατέχων ἀρτὶ, the two impeditng perſons, thoſe *Brethren in evill*, fellow workers, ſhall be removed, and held faſt in the ſtocks; and the two *bloudy Courts* ſhall be throwne-down: and the Biſhops thruſt out, and into Priſon with their own hand: All this ſhall be done, for God will have it done. The Divell is Gods Ape, they ſay; The Adverſary will have all this done alſo. The Parliament ſhall hold as faſt as Law can hold it; And it ſhall be broken both that and all our hopes by *force*; There is an Army in the North ſhall come-up and doe it, break all down and ſet-up perſons and Courts again, Altars and Organs, Croſſes and Crucifixes as high as ever; And all this in ſhew, *To maintain the Liberties of the Subject*, and the *Religion of God*; ſaid the Adverſarie then, and he ſayes the ſame words ſtill; All he has done, all he does, all his inſolencies, violencies, outrages, all theſe for *the Defence of the Subjects Liberties: and maintenance of the Proteſtant Religion!* All that, which happened ſince from that time to this day in all three Kingdomes: All the crooked wayes, turning and winding paths, wherein the King and Queen, their Aliens, and Allies and ſervants have ſtood-up to the knees and horſes bridles (in bloud,) all this, *for the maintainance of the Proteſtant Religion.* But all this was ſaid only, barely affirmed, and no more yet, till his Majeſtie went downe to Yorke, that ſtrong hold, there [according to the Direction from one of his vileſt Counſellours; for whom *the grave is made* [c],] Then it was not only ſaid but ſworne and proteſted, That he, Queene, taking her courſe into *Holland*, doing what ſhe did there, and the King a guard of 5000. *right*-men to defend his Perſon (from thoſe, who never did him any hurt, but by counſelling for the proſperitie and ſafeguard of his perſon, and praying for his ſoul yet.) That and this, all the King and Queens projects, contrivances, fine devices and practiſes were all for *the Defence of their Perſons:* and *maintainance of the Proteſtant Religion.* Therefore the King ſhed the bloud in *Ireland*, and the very ſame to *his power* in *England*; All this for the *maintainance of the Proteſtant Religion*; ſo it is declared, ſo proteſted ten times: And as probable every whit all this, as That 500. *Leeches* (bloud ſuckers) could cut-off the chiefeſt and principall members of the Body at one blow, thereby *to maintain the ſafety and welfare of the Body: and the Proteſtant Religion.* "I have done, Hee "that may ſee, and will not, let it happen unto him as to one, who, in a ſelf-pleaſing humour, "would cover his eyes, and ſo he did ſo long, that when he was pleaſed to take off the cover, he "found his eyes in the place, but the ſight was gone. The Child in underſtanding now, the

c *Digby.*
d Nalt. 1. 14.

man

* (That is) meere ſenſuall perſons who haſten by Gods judgements and mans works, and never bend or fix their thoughts upon them, are nevertheleſſe in their paſſage and race urged to diſcerne it.

man alſo, who could not ſee *afarre off*, may now lay aſide this *Proſpective*, and, if he be not ſtarke blinded with light, ſee with open face all that the Adverſaries have done theſe three laſt yeares, *for the maintainance of the Parliament, and of the Proteſtant Religion:* That is the varniſh ſtill, but bloud has waſhed it cleane off: And the contrary, the deſtruction of the Parliament, and the Proteſtant Religion, together with horrible blaſphemies are now written upon the Adverſaries forehead, and actions, with ſuch *Capitall letters*, that he, who runneth, and has but halfe an eye, may read it, without the help of *Spectacles*: yet they are commended to him, being framed for excellent purpoſe, and have done excellent ſervice; ſo as there is not ſuch an *Atheiſt* in the land, that does not now acknowledge *There is a GOD, That judgeth in the earth*: for he muſt ſee and acknowledge, *That an over-running floud is neere upon the Adverſaries heeles, and darkneſſe purſues them.* The ſumme of all, I need ſay more, now that our *eye-ſight* is ſo well cleared, is this; They, &c. returne to *page* 118. *line* 27 7

Pag. 122. *li.* 22. Apprehenſion (adde) Certainly our eyes beheld as wonderfull a defence upon the Glory now, as once was upon the Chriſtians, when they were Thruſt downe to the place of Dragons, I meane, upon the mouthes of Lions: But thoſe beaſts had no power to deſtroy, ſo they went round about the Chriſtians looking upon them, but could doe them no more hurt than the Viper did to *Pauls* hand: Such a Deliverance, But &c. *line* 23.

Pag. 126. *li.* 7. Mighty reaſons for that, (adde)

1. This Reforming a Nation is, though not properly, yet very fitly called an *Edifying*, or building-up a Nation. And as in this ſo in that, There is much Rubbiſh in *Doctrines* and in *manners*, which we, with our Biſhops, have laid in the very place, where the foundation of our *Building* muſt be laid: All this muſt be removed, elſe *men are not able to build.*

Nehem. 4. 10.

2. Reforming work, as all *Edifying*, requires a foundation, which muſt be laid low, The work-men muſt be laid low alſo; low in their own eyes, in themſelves *nothing*. All ſelfe-denying, no ſelfe-pleaſing; all very low, before ſuch a glorious building can goe-up: The higheſt buildings have their riſe from the loweſt foundation.

b Haggai 1. 9. 3. Becauſe, ſo many, even of thoſe that goe for builders, *runne every man unto his own houſe*, and ſo few intend themſelves for the houſe of God: So few, that have *a mind to the work*, who will put forth themſelves, their hands and their hearts thereunto; But mighty Adverſaries to oppoſe it; The *Dragon*, that is the Devill; The *Beaſt*, that is, *Romiſh Babylon*, with all her adherents, of both ſexes, of all eſtates and degrees, ſome (Titular) Noble-men and Women, not a few. And God ſuffers all theſe violent oppoſitions, to be and to prevaile for a time for mighty reaſons alſo. 1. To endeare the mercy and heighten the work. 2. To digniſie the work-men, to try whether they would be at *coſt* for it; To take up their duty and their croſſe together; are willing and chooſe rather to weaken themſelves, ſo they may ſtrengthen Religion; to part with their *liberty* and life, for the liberties of the Church, and life of the Goſpell. 3. And, though God working with his people anſwers all oppoſitions now, and overcomes them anon; Though He goes along with His people, joynes, *&c.* returne *to p.* 126. *l* 7.

Therefore ſo many ſtands, ſtops, and pauſes in this work evermore.

Pag. 135. *l.* 7. Glad, (adde) But this man does not make *haſt*; for the time of his *impriſonment* (I meane his affliction in what kind ſoever) he is of the Martyrs mind; he would not come-out of priſon when his friends would have him; they would not have him ſtay there 10 *dayes*, no nor ten houres, nor ten minutes. Nor would he ſtay there at his Adverſaries pleaſure, for they have the mind of the Devill, they would never let him forth. But he would waite Gods time and pleaſure; for His deliverance comes *right early*. So he has concluded. So, *&c.* returne to *line* 8.

Revel. 2. 10.

FINIS.





London hath Oxford *Aulicus* [illegible]
A Massacre Virginia hath contriv'd.
Sir Thomas Fairfax Rupert will defeat,
Colonell *Charles Fairfax* made *Montrosse* retreat.
In Weymouth store of Armes and poder's found:
And *Essex* fame, throughout the West doth sound.
Brave *Waller's* Royall Chase is related.
Some things for Information debated.
The King to *Rupert* is about to flye,
The Earle of *Dinbigh* hath tooke *Auswostrey*.

Be Wise as Serpents, innocent as Doves.

THE

SCOTISH DOVE

Sent out, and Returning;

Bringing Intelligence from the Armies, and makes some Relations of other observable Passages of both Kingdoms, for Information and Instruction.

From Friday the 21. of Iune, to Fryday the 28.

I Intended the Last week (if my paper had not prevented) to premonish you of a new Pamphlet, intituled, *Mercurius Aulicus*, written by some Spawn of *Momus* (not at *Oxford* as the former was) but in the Cities of *London*, or the Suburbs thereof, By an Hierarchicall collegiate of the Academy of treasons, set up, and held

at *Ely Houſe*, *Peters Houſe*, &c. Where treaſon is plotted againſt the Kingdome, Rebellion acted againſt the King and Parliament, Blaſphemie preached againſt God, and from whence Scandalous lyes are written, and publiſhed, to delude the World, by Hyperbolicall relations, falſehood, and Sorditude, which any man of Common reaſon may underſtand, and cannot but deteſt, except altogether ſtupid, or maliciouſly bent againſt the truth; Such as are willfull diſturbers of the peace of the Church and ſtate; of whom I ſay as the Apoſtle ſaid of ſome like them: *I would they were even cut off, &c.*

Old Aulicus *Deceaſed, is reviv'd*
By ſome new Puple of that wicked ſtraine;
Illegitimate, yet, like the firſt deriv'd
From Satan, Rebellious Treaſons to maintain
'Gainſt Soveraigne Parliaments, but all in vain;
Nor Men, nor Divels, ever ſhall prevent,
The Worke of God in this his Parliament.

One thing more I muſt advertiſe you of; That whereas in my laſt weeks intelligence I told you Sir *John Gell* was gone to beſiege *Aſhby*, Colonell *Haſtings* houſe: although it be true, that ſuch a thing was intended, yet before is was in action, other affaires took him off from that deſigne; *Sir John Gell* hath been at *Peterbrough* to fetch from thence ſome Ordnance which came thither by water, and he is now returned with them to *Darby*: But is ſince in perſon (with his horſe) gone to joyne with Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who is Marcht into *Lancaſhire* with 6000. horſe, 2000. Dragoones, and 5000. foot, with reſolution to fight with *Prince Rupert*, if he will abide to give battell: *Manchester* forces will joyne with him.

From the Plantation at *Virginia* we have had former intellignce of a diviſion there, about diſputes, and Iudgements, in the diſtractions of *England*, and differences betweene the King and the Parliament; The governour together with a Royall Faction, aſſiſted with the Papiſts of that plantation, oppoſed the well meaning and honeſt proteſtants; which grew to ſo great a contention, as thy were falling into old *Englands* condition, So great is the power and influence of our Royall quarrell over the Terreſtriall Globe; But whilſt the debate grew hot among themſelves, the Barbarous Natives treacherouſly came upon them, to decide the quarrell; (as the *Kite* in the Fable did between the *Rat* & the *Frog*) The Natives having ſubtilly inſinuated into the Engliſh, and gained the uſe of their Guns, to go

out

out to kill Dear, and as it is conceived by little and little gotten some store of powder, they agreed to come at a day and houre appointed, when the servants of the English were at their severall workes in the field (knowing the strength of every family), divided themselves to every family in the out plantations, and Massacred them, to the number of 1500. and took away all their Gunnes, Powder and buller; And as is was confessed by one of the Natives (which was accidentally taken by the English, and was one of them that did the Massacre) Whom the English halfe hanged, and let him down again, to make him confesse, who told them, They intended shortly after they had (as they have done) got their Gunnes and powder, to set upon the close, in Plantations by force, in open Hostility; what the Issue will be, God onely knoweth (except the English already feel it.)

From the Leaguer at *Yorke*, on Saturdy was certified that the Earl of *Manchesters* Souldiers had sprung a mine, and made a breach into the City: and there entred of his Souldiers about 300. but the myne was accidentally Sprung before the time appointed, so that the rest of the quarters had not notice of it, nor were ready to assault the walles in the other places, as was by them intended: Yet they did very great execution upon the enemie: they slew three chiefe Commanders, Field Officers; But the Enemy being free from any other Assault at that time, had advantage to bring up their men to that breach without impediment; yet the *Earl* of *Manchesters* Souldiers made good the breach, and still keep open that wound; They lost upon that service about 200. Souldiers taken and slaine.

On *Munday* by other Letters was certified, that they do yet remain to keep the Breach in despight of the Enemy: And have great hopes to be masters of the Enemie ere long; Also it is certified that Colonell *Charles Fairfax* who was sent to *Sunderland* with 1000. Horse, to assist the regiments of *Scots* that keep that Towne, who were by the Earl of *Montrosse* and the rest of that crew fac'd daily, but Colonell *Fairfax* with his 1000 Horse and the well affected of the counties that came in to his assistance, drove *Montrosse*, *Musgrave* and the rest into *Newcastle*, and pursued them, to *Gatshead Hill*.

Concerning the taking of *Weymouth*, we gave you a relation last weeke, but there is a fuller and more particular exact of the Armes and ammunition taken then we had then received: at the first there was not above 60 barrels of powder found, but since that 60. is made

up 500. alſo there was taken in the town 80. peeces of Ordnance great and ſmall, 2000. good Muskets and upwards, beſides other Armes and Swords, 150. caſe of Piſtols, with good ſtore of match and ſhot, and all the Shipping within the Haven, Whereof 12. are ready Riggd, and victualled for preſent Service.

VVe are certified from *Lime*, by the mouth of a Gentleman preſent, during the Siege, and at the raiſing of the ſiege, that the ſame day following the night in which *Maurice* danced away, the Earle of *Warwick* came on ſhore into the towne, and was by all the people received with great joy and aeclamation, all of them thronging to come where he paſſed: and made lanes for him to paſſe between them, Speaking thus: *My Lord, you are welcome to your own Towne, and to your owne people, for you have preſerved the Town, and delivered us who had elſe been a pre to the Enemy, therefore the Towne, is yours, and We are all yours, and what is ours, &c.*

Here is gratitude, and no more but what is due under God, who is onely worthy praiſe, as the cauſe of all benefi s; This Noble Earle, as the inſtrument by which this Benefite was from God conveighed to them; For my part I deteſt flattery, nor am I any mercinary Writer, but a lover of God, and a ſervant to my Countrey, bound in duty to give due praiſe to ſuch worthies as fear God, and defend their countrey: I want words to expreſſe the vertues of this Noble Lord, *Robert* Earle of *Warwicke* Lord High admirall of *England*, and ſhall love him beſt that can and doth honour him moſt.

There is alſo another Noble Lord, *Robert* Earle of *Eſſex*, Lord Generall of the forces for the King and Parliament of *England*, honourable for his patient bearing of former injuries in the daies of King *James*, honourable for his contempt of honours for ſcile reſpects, caſt upon him by the favour of our Soveraigne, King *Charles*; honourable for his couragious reſolution in the countenancing Gods Cauſe, and the Kingdomes rights, in the beginning of this unhappy warre; honourable for valour and judgement, witneſſe *Keinton*, the raiſing *Gloceſter* ſiege, and *Newbery* battell: honourable in contempt of private gaine, for all which the voyce of the people have with aclamation extolled him; his praiſe hath reached from one end of the Kingdome to the other, of which *Cadice* and the *Netherlands* can witneſſe.

Praiſe is (or ſhould be) the reflection of Vertue, but the praiſe of the common people is commonly advanced according to the various affections of men, or the uncertaine events of actions; and hence it

commeth that one man diſpraiſeth what another praiſeth, as water beareth up ſome things aloft, and ſwallowes up other; ſo common fame exalts him to day whom it throwes downe to morrow. When men looke but to the event of actions, and not to the ayme of the actor, not conſidering *that all things come alike unto all, and that there is one event to the righteous and to the wicked*; men in great and publique places act by counſell, and muſt uſe (as inſtruments) other mens heads, hands, tongues, and eyes; and ſo by the falſhood, or defect of one inſtrument, the beſt ayme may have the worſt event, *Man purpoſeth* (ſaith *Salomon*) *but God diſpoſeth.*

Gentlemen, give me leave to tell you that it is a common fault in men, and too much ſeene in theſe times, that we either honour men too much, as if they were Gods, or give them too little as if they were not men: all men have failings, yet honour is due to all good men in their ſeverall places. I will tell you a ſtory of a great Commander, appointed and choſen by the Conſull of *Rome*, to lead an Army againſt the enemy; when he was going out he made this requeſt to the people, that all thoſe who were able to counſell him would goe out with him, and that all which refuſed to goe, or that were not able to give him counſell would be ſilent at home till he returned. It was a diſcreet requeſt in him, and it would be a profitable practice to us, if we did well obſerve it.

It is certaine that the want of able and faithfull Counſell retards the beſt worke; fidelity without activity and ability cannot doe much good, but activity and ability where faithfulneſſe is wanting will doe much hurt. A man that is honeſt, and not able (to manage the thing he undertaketh) is like *Ahimaz*, he made haſt with tidings to the King, but could not tell him what it was. An unable Counſellor (or other inſtrument) of State, or warre ſees much to be done, but know not how it ſhould be done; but a man that is able and treacherous, can betray a Kingdome, or an Army inſenſibly, under pretence of wholſome and honeſt counſell. Thus *Baſſus* and *Naburzanus* who were Captaines under *Darius*, and oppoſed the counſell of all the reſt of the Captaines, and *Darius* owne reſolution, under pretence of love and faithfulneſſe, and ſo betrayed the Army, perſon and Kingdome of *Darius* into *Alexanders* hand; the manner briefly was this; *Darius* being to give his laſt battell againſt *Alexander*, conſulted with his Captaines, and all agreed in the way probable to have gotten *Darius* the victory; but *Baſſus* and *Naburzanus* counſelled contrary, accuſing one of the chiefe of the Counſell of War, and being

ing in the eſteeme of *Darius* honeſt; *Darius* was ruled, and altered the courſe agreed upon; this they did on purpoſe to make a diviſion in the Army, which they did almoſt to a mutiny, when the enemy was at hand ready to give them battell; and when it was too late *Darius* ſee the Treaſon, and ſo loſt his life and Kingdome together, ſo dangerous is flattering friendſhip, and unfaithfull Counſellors. It is a deviliſh plot of Treaſon to carry tales and accuſations between Commanders of Armies, when they that meane to betray accuſe under pretence of love, duty and honour, and ſuch things have been done by ſome ſecret Agents of the Oxonian enemies at this day. How far the Oxonian Counſell hath influence into, or over ſome of the Counſellours for the State affaires, may clearly appeare by a Letter writ from *Oxford* by Secretary *Nicholls* to *Weymouth*, to Colonell *Aſhburnham*, which Letter was intercepted by his Excellence the Earle of *Eſſex*, and ſince ſent up to the Parliament, wherein *Nicholls* writes that the Plot tooke, and the difference was fomented, and now growne to ſo great a height between the Earl of *Eſſex* and ſir *William Waller*, that they would &c. and alſo he writes that they have upon this difference deſigned their buſineſſe to their great advantage, and names how; and withall he wiſheth Colonell *Aſhburnham* to have ſpeciall care of the Towne of *Weymouth*, it being the Kings chiefe Magazine for the Weſt, and being the beſt and moſt convenient for his deſigne, &c. (note that this Letter was writ not long before *Weymouth* was yeelded) we have great reaſon to give God praiſe, and to love one another, for God hath diſcovered ſtrange and ſecret plots, (agitated by treacherous Parafites) againſt us, whereby we ſee the neceſſity to be carefull of imploying honeſt men about Counſellours and Commanders, (which are uſed as their inſtruments) as well as good Counſellours and Commanders.

The common rumour ſpread abroad by malignant ſpirits, of a difference between his Excellency and ſir *William Waller* put me upon the quere to find the truth, but finding fame a lyar, I thought it my duty to informe the world ſo much, and certifie all men of the miſtake, aſſuring them there is no ſuch thing as any diſagreement between thoſe two Worthies; it is true, the enemy have indeavoured to have it ſo, and reported it to breed diſcontent, but thoſe our Worthies are well contented to ſerve their Country together, or a part, where they may doe beſt ſervice, and the Parliament ſhall command them.

The Lord Generall is advanced towards *Exeter*, *Briſtoll*, or

what other place he in wisdome conceives best, The Countries come in freely to him, of all sorts. The Earle of *Warwicke* sends some ships to wait on his Excellency by sea, to serve him either at *Exeter*, *Bristoll*, or any other place; The Earle of *Warwicke* and the Lord Generall held a Counsell of warre together at *Weymouth*, agreeing upon their designe, God prosper them in it; his Excelleney hath Summoned *Warham*: it was refused to be delivered, what will follow we yet expect. I doubt nothing (by Gods assistance) but all things will go bravely on in the west; The Queen quakes at *Exeter*, and by a Message to the Lord Generall, desires to be forborne (till she be able to do more mischiefe.) Sir *William Waller* next (according to order) followed this royall pursuit, he hath acted his part bravely, the Service he hath done since he began the Chase is very considerable, he hath left his greatest peeces at *Gloceſter*, (being as last weeke, I told you hindered from following the King backe, by the Breaking downe of some bridges) he came to *Evasham* to *Gloceſter*, to *Stow*, to *Chiping-norton*, and so neere *Banbury*, where he was on Munday night, and will not be far from his Maiesty which way soever he goe. The King and about 6000. horse and foot were lately in the parts of *Bedfordshire* next *Oxford*, and have made excursions into *Northamptonshire* and *Hertfordshire*, taking what they can get, and spoyling what they cannot take; as if his Majesty were ambitious to destroy all his Subjects, lest one might escape to say he sped better then the rest. They have done strange out-rages in those parts, among the rest I will mention one thing; they came to *Dunstable* with some few Troops, and when the people were at Church, to plunder was not enough, but they cut and wounded many in the Church, and shot a case of Pistolls at the Minister in the pulpit, but mist him, yet afterward abused him almost as bad as death; Women and Maids are shamefully abused by them, modesty will not give me leave to relate what I have been informed in that kind.

Major Generall *Brown* is at his Rendezvous about *Barnet*, his carriages and Ordnance are gone out, and the most of the City Auxiliaries are gone, some onely accepted who are fained friends, and hearty enemies, with whom I hope good course will be taken. The County of *Essex* are in armes, and send freely to Major Generall *Browne*; Hertfortshire is the like, and the other Counties; within three daies I doubt not but Major Gen. *Brown* will be 12, or 14000. strong. Sir *W. Waller* is now between *Buckingham* & *Banbury*, the King drives on toward *Leicester* furiously, it may be he goes so fast that he

may

ing in the eſteeme of *Darius* honeſt; *Darius* was ruled, and altered the courſe agreed upon; this they did on purpoſe to make a diviſion in the Army, which they did almoſt to a mutiny, when the enemy was at hand ready to give them battell; and when it was too late *Darius* ſee the Treaſon, and ſo loſt his life and Kingdome together, ſo dangerous is flattering friendſhip, and unfaithfull Counſellors. It is a deviliſh plot of Treaſon to carry tales and accuſations between Commanders of Armies, when they that meane to betray accuſe under pretence of love, duty and honour, and ſuch things have been done by ſome ſecret Agents of the Oxonian enemies at this day. How far the Oxonian Counſell hath influence into, or over ſome of the Counſellours for the State affaires, may clearly appeare by a Letter writ from *Oxford* by Secretary *Nicholls* to *Weymouth*, to Colonell *Aſhburnham*, which Letter was intercepted by his Excellence the Earle of *Eſſex*, and ſince ſent up to the Parliament, wherein *Nicholls* writes that the Plot tooke, and the difference was fomented, and now growne to ſo great a height between the Earl of *Eſſex* and ſir *William Waller*, that they would &c. and alſo he writes that they have upon this difference deſigned their buſineſſe to their great advantage, and names how; and withall he wiſheth Colonell *Aſhburnham* to have ſpeciall care of the Towne of *Weymouth*, it being the Kings chiefe Magazine for the Weſt, and being the beſt and moſt convenient for his deſigne, &c. (note that this Letter was writ not long before *Weymouth* was yeelded) we have great reaſon to give God praiſe, and to love one another, for God hath diſcovered ſtrange and ſecret plots, (agitated by treacherous Parafites) againſt us, whereby we ſee the neceſſity to be carefull of imploying honeſt men about Counſellours and Commanders, (which are uſed as their inſtruments) as well as good Counſellours and Commanders.

The common rumour ſpread abroad by malignant ſpirits, of a difference between his Excellency and ſir *William Waller* put me upon the quere to find the truth, but finding fame a lyar, I thought it my duty to informe the world ſo much, and certifie all men of the miſtake, aſſuring them there is no ſuch thing as any diſagreement between thoſe two Worthies; it is true, the enemy have indeavoured to have it ſo, and reported it to breed diſcontent, but thoſe our Worthies are well contented to ſerve their Country together, or a part, where they may doe beſt ſervice, and the Parliament ſhall command them.

The Lord Generall is advanced towards *Exeter*, *Briſtoll*, or

what other place he in wisdome conceives best, The Countries come in freely to him, of all sorts. The Earle of *Warwicke* sends some ships to wait on his Excellency by sea, to serve him either at *Exeter*, *Bristoll*, or any other place; The Earle of *Warwicke* and the Lord Generall held a Counsell of warre together at *Weymouth*, agreeing upon their designe, God prosper them in it; his Excelleney hath Summoned *Warham*: it was refused to be delivered, what will follow we yet expect. I doubt nothing (by Gods assistance) but all things will go bravely on in the west; The Queen quakes at *Exeter*, and by a Message to the Lord Generall, desires to be forborne (till she be able to do more mischiefe.) Sir *William Waller* next (according to order) followed this royall pursuit, he hath acted his part bravely, the Service he hath done since he began the Chase is very considerable, he hath left his greatest peeces at *Glocester*, (being as last weeke, I told you hindered from following the King backe, by the Breaking downe of some bridges) he came to *Evasham* to *Glocester*, to *Stow*, to *Chiping-norton*, and so neere *Banbury*, where he was on Munday night, and will not be far from his Maiesty which way soever he goe. The King and about 6000. horse and foot were lately in the parts of *Bedfordshire* next *Oxford*, and have made excursions into *Northamptonshire* and *Hertfordshire*, taking what they can get, and spoyling what they cannot take; as if his Majesty were ambitious to destroy all his Subjects, lest one might escape to say he sped better then the rest. They have done strange out-rages in those parts, among the rest I will mention one thing; they came to *Dunstable* with some few Troops, and when the people were at Church, to plunder was not enough, but they cut and wounded many in the Church, and shot a case of Pistolls at the Minister in the pulpit, but mist him, yet afterward abused him almost as bad as death; Women and Maids are shamelesly abused by them, modesty will not give me leave to relate what I have been informed in that kind.

Major Generall *Brown* is at his Rendezvous about *Barnet*, his carriages and Ordnance are gone out, and the most of the City Auxiliaries are gone, some onely accepted who are fained friends, and hearty enemies, with whom I hope good course will be taken. The County of *Essex* are in armes, and send freely to Major Generall *Browne*; Hertfortshire is the like, and the other Counties; within three daies I doubt not but Major Gen. *Brown* will be 12, or 14000. strong. Sir *W. Waller* is now between *Buckingham* & *Banbury*, the King drives on toward *Leicester* furiously, it may be he goes so fast that he

may

may make the more haſt back again; or it may be he goes to joyn with his Kinſman *Rupert*, and meanes to beate all our Armies at the Leaguer of *Yorke*, and then come backe at leaſure; but his couſen *Rupert* it may be may prove a Couſen to him; He that hath been ungratefull to a Kingdome that hath bred, and cheriſhed him and his alies; and that will ſeeke the life and bondage of a Parliament, that within few yeares freed him from captivity; will not much care for the King, when he hath ſerved his owne turne.

By the laſt Letters from the Leaguer, we are certified (for confirmation of what I have writ before) viz. that the Committee of both Kingdoms at the Army before *Yorke*, taking into their conſideration the ſad condition of *Lancaſhire*, by the violence daily offered by *Ruperts* Army to the Inhabitants perſons and goods; and that he daily increaſeth his Army by the Papiſts who voluntarily come in to him, and by force compelleth others, and having no oppoſition would quickly ſwell into a great body; have therefore reſolved that thoſe 12. or 13000. horſe and foot under the command of ſir *Tho. Fairfax*, Col. *Leſley*, &c. ſhall goe into *Lancaſhire*, to joyn with thoſe horſe & foot that are there, or as many of them as can be ſpared; and alſo that the Earle of *Denbigh* ſhall joyn with them, which together will make 8000. foot and horſe, altogether will make 20000. and upwards; and all theſe are to attend P. *Rupert* in his motions, and follow him whither ſoever he ſhall goe, and fight with him at the firſt opportunity they can have; yet notwithſtanding they will continue the ſiege before *Yorke*, which is yet in the ſame poſture as is before related. Prince *Rupert* is (as the laſt Intelligence certifies) drawne towards *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire*.

The E. of *Calender* is now actually in *England* with 10000. foot and horſe, & is marching towards Newcaſtle, whereof Gen. *Leſley* was certified the laſt weeke by expreſſe, ſo that we hope by this time he is at Newcaſtle, of which we muſt expect more by the next Intelligences; if we would but give our ſelves to God, and ſeek him by reformation, every one in particular to ſeek his face, and leave our Armies to Gods protection, it would be well with us; we are all too ſlow in judging our ſelves, and too quick in judging our Armies; we muſt mend our faults, or be punithed longer. Sir *Edward Dearing* is dead, his parts (which was excellent for Learning and Eloquence) are periſhed with him, his happineſſe is, that he dyed a repenting convert.

The Earle of *Denbigh* in his march towards Lancaſhire, hath taken Auſwor-ſtree, ten or twelve miles beyond Shrewsbury, and hath taken in it 419. priſoners, whereof 30. are Commanders, ſome of quality.

Printed according to Order for *L. C.*

Two Great Victories:

On

Obtained by the Earle of Denbigh at OSWESTREY:

And how he took

20 Gentlemen of Wales.
1 Lievtenant Colonell.
Divers Captains and other officers
200 Prisoners.
100 Musquets.
500 pound composition.
300 Cows and Welch Roonts.
Many Swords and Pistols.
Divers Arms.
1 Barrell of Powder.
A quantitie of Ballets.
The Church.
The Towre.
The Castle.
Besides divers hurt.
Some slain.

Certified by Letters from the Earl of Denbigh *his Quarters.*

The other Victory by Colonell *Mitton*, with a List of the Prisoners by him taken:

Certified by Letters from Colonell Mitton.

Published according to Order.

LONDON,

Printed by *I. Coe*, 1644.

Two Great Victories.

O N

O S W E S T R Y :

LONDON.

LETTERS SENT FROM Colonell MITTON.

SIR,

I Came hither about eleven of the clock upon Tuesday night, I had not been in bed on quarter of an houre, but a friend came to mee, and informed me that there were Carriages summoned to be in Osweſtree by nine of the clock, yesterday to carrie Ammunition to Prince *Rupert*, which we heare he ſtandeth in need of verie much, I drew out all the ſmall forces could be ſpared hence, and marched towards Chirke to ſurpriſe it. I went on with the horſe to a place ſo appointed one to meet mee, to give me farther intelligence, who when he came did aſſure me that a party was gone out of Osweſtree that morning, to convey it thither. I cannot learn that it is yet gone paſt, I have ſent to the Earle of *Denbigh* to give him notice hereof, who as I even now received intelligence, that he hath ſent forces towards me, if they come before the Ammunition be paſt, I intend by Gods helpe to fall upon the Town, which they are about to fortifie very ſtrongly. Yesterday I took 2. of Major *Sachaverels* Troopers, who upon examination confeſſed, that a Lievtenant of foote with 20 Muſquetiers were gone a mile paſt, as we being at Saint *Martins*, they going towards Bangor, I followed them as faſt I could with 25 horſe, and as many Dragoons when wee came in ſight of them, they not ſeeing as the Dragoones alighted to charge them in the Reare, the place being

being incloſed ground, full of Woods, and very uneven, inſtead of 20 we found 54: one of our Troopers diſcharged a Piſtoll, how or wherefore I cannot learne, but it gave them ſuch an Alarume, whereupon we diſcharged them with our horſe, routed them, took priſoners according to the note incloſed, bleſſed be God for all his mercies, hee is the only giver of all Victories, and whom I truſt will never forſake them that are faithfull in his ſervice:
I thank my God I have not one man ſlain in any fight, ſince I parted laſt from you.

Dated June 20, 1644.

A Liſt of the Priſoners taken at Duddleſton, JUNE 19, 1644.

Bartholomew Fuller Marſhall.
Owen Jones Quartermaſter.
Richard Foulks Serjeant.
Robert Iones.
Ioſeph Jones.
Owen Lewis.
Richard ab David.
Richard ap Thomas.
Thomas Owen.
Richard Trenard.
Morgan ap Richard.
Hugh ap Thomas.
Iohn Henrey.
Richard Jones.
Robert Davies.
Morgan ap Robert.
Edward Jones.
Thomas Rogers.
Iohn Steel.
Thomas ap Thomas.
Robert Iones.
Randby Stotton.
Edward Philip.
Iohn Roberts.
Richard Davis.
Edward Williams.
Iohn Owen.

Upon Saturday laſt about two of the clock in the afternoon my Lord with his horſe, and 200 foot fell upon this Towne, my Lord by reaſon of his command into Lancaſhire, could not ſpare any of his foot, therefore we are conſtrained to take this ſmall force out of

Weme,

Weme, which God ſo bleſſed, that before five of the clocke wee entred the Towne, wee were forced firſt to take the Church, wherein there was 25. The next morning the Caſtle was ſurrendred, the particulars I refer to my Lords Relation.

Oſſeſtree, 24 *of* June, 1644.

Thus far the Letters from that Heroicke Conquerour Colonell Mitton.

Now followeth other Letters *from the Earle of* Dencigh *his quarters, of the particulers, of the victory at* Oſweſtrey.

SIR,

I Deſire you to joyn with us, and for us, in praiſes to God, who hath done greate things for us, and by us.

Upon Thurſday laſt wee came out of *Stafford*, horſe and foote, to intercept ſome Amunition, going to *Prince Rupert*, by the way of *Wales*, over the river of *Comerah*. That night wee merched not farr by reaſon of greate raine: but my Lord of *Denbigh*, early the next day got to horſe, and leaving all our foot at *Draiton*, wee marched to wem, and our horſe to *Elſmore*, and 200, foot and a troope of horſe under the command of Collonell *Mitton*: Wee early next day overtooke our horſe and thoſe foote and by 12 a clock on Saturday wee beleaguerd the enemyes garriſon towne of *Oſweſtrey*, which is a walled towne, and in it the Church well manned and the Caſtle.

They gave us a hot ſalute, and our men as gallantly entertained it and returned an anſwer.

Captaine *Keme* undertooke to make good *Cheſter* paſſage, and *Chirke* Caſtle roade, with theſe Troops, viz: Captaine *Kems* on Toope, Collonell *Bartons*, Captaine *Noakeſes*, Captain: *Tompſons*, and Captaine *Broothers*.

Captaine *Keme* immediatly fixt his guards, and ſent out parties into the mountaines and ſcouts every way, who returned with newes of one Collonell *Marrowes* appearing with a body of horſe, but they never came up, though expected.

my

My Lords horſe commanded by Major *Frazer* had the guard of Shrewsburie, road and Morton: Our Foot made an onſaurt on the Church being but 200, and in an half houres ſore fight entred the Church, the Enemie fled into the ſteeple, thence they fetcht them down with a powder; there we took 27. priſoners; then we brought up a Sacre to the gate through the ſuburbs, and a party of Horſe were called off the guards both of my Lords, and ours, and my Lords Life guard; we ſhot the gate through at two ſhot, and they fired from the gate at our men: but one of our ſhot ſhooting a womans bowels out, and wounding two or three, put them in a feare, that they betook themſelves to the Caſtle. We forced open the gates, and the horſe entred reſolutely, and ſo by 3. aclock were poſſeſſed of the Town, as good a peece of ſervice, God have all the praiſe, as this yeer hath produced. My Lord himſelfe entred the Town with the horſe, neglecting thoughts of his own ſafety: Our men minded not the plundring the Town (which was their right in taking it in this way) but followed on to the Caſtle where they fiercely fiered on us every way being well mann'd. We made ſome ſhot with the greateſt Sacre, but took little effect.

Onely ſome timerous men got over the wals, one broke his arme falling, others Captain *Kemes* horſe lighted on, took them priſoners, Captain *Keme* ſent my Lord from his guard 14. priſoners into the Town, beſides one Captain which his Scout took by Chirke Caſtle with his Cominiſſion under his Majeſties hand, and ſent it to my Lord alſo.

My Lord at night called a Councell of Warre, and ordered a ſtrong guard, and deſigned a party of Troopers to venter to fire the Caſtle gates with pitch; but our men wearied out, ſlipt the opportunitie: My Lord by break of day waking, came to Captain *Keme* in the ſame houſe with him, and deſigned him to go forward the deſigne, which immediately he did with great chearfulneſſe and vallour: but on his way there met him a party of women of all ſorts down on their knees, confounding him with their Welch howlings, that he was fain to get an Interpreter, which was to beſeech

me

me to intreat my Lord before he blew up the Caſtle, they might go up and ſpeak to their husbands, children, and the officers; which he moved, and my Lord condeſcended to, ſo Captain *Keme* might go with them and a Trumpet, which he did couragiouſly, and carried this meſſage. Then my Lord to avoid the effuſion of blood yet offered them mercy, if they would accept of it; they threw down this paper, *viz.*

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Denbigh.

Propoſitions propounded by us for the delivering up of the Caſtle of *Oſweſtry.*

FIrſt, to march away with our Armes, bag and baggage, Officers and Souldiers, and all other perſons whatſoever being in the ſaid Caſtle. And,

Secondly, that we the ſaid Officers, and all other perſons whatſoever, being within the ſaid Caſtle, may be guarded thorow your Quarters to Mountſords bridge, or quietly to abide in our own habitations.

Thirdly, that we may march out of the ſaid Caſtle over the ſaid Bridge with our Muskets charged, light matches, and balls in our mouthes.

Theſe Propoſitions being granted, the Caſtle ſhall be delivered by the Officers ſubſcribed.

John Birdwell Lieutenant Colloncl.
John Warrin Captain.
Nicho. Hooks Lieutenant.
Thomas Davenport, Lievtenant.
Hugh Lloyd, Ancient.
Lewis Morgan, Ancient.

SO Captain *Keme* returned, leaving the women, my Lord refuſed to condeſcend; at laſt the women prevailed, and cried to me to come up: then the two brave Champions, Colloncl *Mitton*, and Captain *Keme* went up, and they ſaid they would repoſe themſelves on ſuch quarter as my Lord would ſigne to, which was their lives onely.

So

So they marched out, and we found, 100, good *muſkets*, beſides others ſtole away 8, *Halberts*, and *officers* to them, 1 *barrell* of *powder*, and ſutable *match*, many *ſwords*, and ſome few *piſtolls*, 20, *Gentlemen* of wales, and Shropſhire, divers *officers*, and 200, *Priſoners*, beſides what were loſt.

Immediatly (it being the Lords day) my Lord called away all to go to Church to praiſe God, which was done, and our dead buried.

In all this ſervice we had but 2 Souldiers ſlaine, and 1 horſe and but 4, wounded, bleſſed be God.

This Towne is of great concernment. Wee had a Councell of warr at 1 a clock, at which my Lord Generall (the Earle of *Denbigh*) made Colonell *Mitton* Gover nour of *Oſweſter*: And wee have reſolved upon a great deſigne, which is to joyne with Cheſhire forces, where Sir *Thomas Middleton* is novv at Namptvvich, and hath been theſe four days, and goe againſt Prince *Rupert* into Lancaſhire: I pray commend us eſpecially novv in your conſtant prayers to the Lord, be doing as vvell as vve: and praiſe God for his miraculous love by us a poore weak Aamie.

This day my Lord received thanks from the Committee of both Kingdomes for the laſt ſervice at Tipton Greene: It is a ſad ſight to behold the ignorance of theſe Welch in theſe parts, and how they are inſlaved to ſerve: we ſhall leave a Garriſon here, and Colonell *Mitton*, and march to our foot on Wedneſday next with our body of horſe. Colonell *Fox* is with us here: our men fetcht in 300 Cows and Salt Runts of the Mountains, and ſell good penny worths: This Town to avoid plundering are to give 500 pounds to the Souldiers.

FINIS.

Numb. 36.

The true Informer:

Continuing a Collection of the most Speciall and Observable

PASSAGES,

From *Oxford, York, Exeter, Shropshire, Somersetshire*, and other Parts of His Majesties Dominions.

From Saturday June 22. *to Saturday* June 29. 1644.

I. *The taking of Aulwestree by the E. of* Denbigh, 419. *prisoners, whereof* 30. *Commanders*, 200. *Horse, and much Ammunition.*

II. *His Excellencies marching towards Exeter; June* 14. *and* 10000. *men ready armed at Sedgemore in Somersetshire to joyn with him.*

III. *The Earl of* Leicester *and* M. Bagshaw *their deserting the Cavaliers, and coming into Northampton.*

IV. *The last newes from York, the Spotted Feaver raging much in that City* 27. *houses infected with the Plague at Oxford. And His Majesties going towards Banbury to meet Sir* W. Waller.

IT was well observed by the learned Sir *Edward Deering*, lately deceased, concerning the Arch-Prelate of *Canterbury* upon his first Impeachment, *That although our manifold griefs did fill a vast conference, yet it was so, that from every part our lines of sorrow did lead unto him, and point at him, the Center, from whence our miseries in this Church and many in the Common-wealth did flow.* What he said then, is now made evident to the eyes of most men, yea of them who were then

of a contratie opinion. Some of his notorious crimes, misdemeanours and traiterous usurpations both upon the Lawes of the Land, and the Subjects consciences and libertie, evidently proved against him in the severall daies of his Triall, hath been heretofore largely insisted upon by our INFORMER, sufficient to convince the most perverse disposition, of the immensitude of mischief that lay in so divinitive a Body: I shall therefore hereafter, and at this present, indeavour to give the world an Account of the severall proceedings against him, with as much brevitie as may be, that I may not tire out my Reader with the multiplicitie of passages concerning him, and omit other intelligence from the Armies, which I know is most desired.

The maine businesse insisted upon against the Archbishop on Thursday last June 27. was concerning his deletion of severall passages out of the Writings of many learned men, that made against Poperie, and inserting others, that made for it: as also licensing and permitting divers Popish, and scandalous Books against the Protestant Religion. One Testimonie which was brought in, and fully proved by M. *White*, was the severall alterations made in the Sermons of D. *Clarke*, which were then read at large. Another was the like alteration in *Iones upon the Hebrewes*, in divers places, against the very sense and intention of the Authour. This was proved by M. *Cherwood*.

The alteration in D. FEATLY'S Booke, intituled CLAVIS MYSTICA, were so many, that it cost the Printer between 40 and 50 l. the alteration of them.

For his permission and licensing of Popish Books, instance was given, amongst others, in that which was stiled *Sales for Introduction to a devout Life*, which was licensed by D. *Heywood* the Archbishops Chaplain, as also another called *An Epistle to Jesus Christ*: besides his protecting of *R. Mountague* for the writing of his Booke called *The Protestant Gagger*, concerning which a Letter of the said *Mountague* to the Archbishop about that Booke was then read. *In fine*, as was then well observed by M. *Nicolls*, who onely managed that daies charge against him) there was scarce anie point of Poperie but was maintained in some or other of those Bookes published by his Authoritie, and particularly, the Popish errours of Purgatorie, Transubstantiation, the reall presence, Crucifixes, Images, Consecration of Churches and Vestures, and divers others, which I will

not

not now mention, in regard I have formerly had occasion to speak of some of them, and may hereafter have the like opportunitie to speak of the rest.

For his Answer in the afternoon, it was so farre from any waies excusing of him, that (like a Beast caught in a net, or a Bird in a snare or limbe-twig) the more he endeavoured to wipe off those crimes that were laid upon him, and to free himself of his spots, he still appeared the more odious, and intangled himself much the faster.

Greenland-House.

By Letters from the forces before Greenland-house, dated Jun. 26. It is thus advertised: *Sir, for newes here since my last, it is onely this, we have planted three of our biggest Sacres within Musket shot of the House, and yesterday we sent them 30. shot, which much shattered the house, and amazed the Garison that were in it, our forces that are before it, are (blessed be God) in an healthfull condition, though Wee are forced to continue our Watchings very strictly, and sometimes can get little or no rest for seven nights together, We have before the house above 300 Foot, under the Command of Lieutenant Colonell Bradley, which came from Windsor, besides 400. Foot which we have in Henley, our Horse not being above 150. and under the command of Captaine Tertill, Captaine Nash, and Captaine Aldridge. The Governour of Greenland-house is Colonel Stephen Hawkins, who is Landlord of Bishops Court in the Old-Bayley, he lately sent out about an hundred to fall upon our Quarters, but they were soon beat in, and two of them killed: Munday night 100. of our Horse went forth, under the command of Captain Tillie, who lay that night at Burton, and the next day faced Wallingford Castle, and brought away three of the Enemies Souldiers Prisoners, so rests.*

Yours, &c.

Shropshire.

By Letters from the Earl of *Denbigh*, brought to Towne Thursday, June 27. It is certified, That he hath taken Answorstree, a considerable Garison of the Enemies in Shropshire, 12. Miles beyond Shrewesbury, and therein 419. Prisoners, whereof 30. Commanders, and some of quality, 200. Horse, and divers pieces of Ordnance, much Armes and Ammunition.

The said Earle is to march into Lancashire against Prince *Rupert*,

to divert his plundering courses there, and to frustrate his intentions of relieving Yorke, for which purpose that he may be the better inabled to go against so potent an Enemy, the Forces of the Lord *Grey*, Sir *Iohn Gell*, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, Sir *William Brereton*, and Colonell *Mitton*, besides Colonell *Harrison* with his Moorelanders, out of Staffordshire, and divers other horse out of Nottinghamshire and Cheshire, are to be joined with him, which will make up a competent body to accompany him in that so necessary and gallant enterprize.

Yorke.

By the last Letters from the Leaguer before Yorke, it is certified, That the English and Scotch Forces do still continue the siege before it, and doe yet keep the breach made by the Earl of *Manchesters* forces, in despight of the enemy, having great hopes of being Masters of that City ere long, for that both the Garison and Citizens therein are verie much distracted by reason of the spotted Feaver which much rages there, and whereof many, both Souldiers and others die dailie; That the Committee of both Kingdomes in the said Army, considering the sad state of Lancashire, by the violent and insolent outrages of Prince *Rupert*, have resolved, That the 5000. Horse and 6000. Foot, under the command of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, Colonell *Lesley*, shall go into Lancashire to joine with Sir *Iohn Meldrum*, and the Lancashire forces, upon whose approach on the one side, and the joining of the Earl of *Denbigh* and the aforementioned forces on the other side, they will make an Armie of above 20000. men, and be the better enabled to attend Prince *Rupert* in his motion, whether to Yorke, Cheshire, or elsewhere, but the last Letters say he was going towards Preston in Lancashire.

Exeter.

By the last Letters from the Lord Generalls Quarters in the West, and by severall Messengers thence it is informed, that the Earl of *Essex* is now drawing towards Exeter, that his maine Quarters are now at *Bredport* and *Chard*, That Prince *Maurice* upon his Excellencies comming that way, removed from Hunnington and quartered with his forces in Bishops Cliff, about three miles from Exeter, whence we since heare, he is got into Exeter. The Countrie does generally come in very freely to his Excellencie, and there are near ten thousand of them gathered together in Armes at Sedgmore in Somersetshire,

merſetſhire, to joine with him in taking in of Exeter, and the Countrie people about Exeter refuſe to carry in their proviſions into Exeter, but keep it for the Lord Generalls Armie, upon whoſe approach it is thought that they and many of the Inhabitants of Exeter will be willing to yeeld themſelves to his ſervice, for the Cabs (for that's the Weſt Countrie word for Cavaliers) in thoſe parts of Somerſetſhire, and the Weſt, where they come they take away all the Bridles and Saddles they can meet with, all they being much neceſſitated for want of furniture for their plundred Horſes.

Friday morning June 28. Letters came from Sir *William Waller*, then about Biſſitur, to Major Generall *Browne* at St. Albans, deſiring him to advance towards him with all ſpeed, whereupon the ſaid Major reſolved to advance from Saint Albans that night, the ſeaſon of the yeare being too hot for day Marches.

Glocester.

From Gloceſter it is informed, that the renowned Governour thereof Colonell *Maſſy* hath lately beene with his Excellencie the Earle of *Eſſex* in the Weſt, and went thence onelie with a partie of Horſe for his Life-guard; that he keeps all the Countrey in thoſe parts free from the Cabs, and fetches in contributions out of Wiltſhire, and many places of Herefordſhire, and oftentimes goes within two or three mile of Hereford, and fetches away dive's horſes, ſometimes lights upon ſome Malignants and Cavaliers, and brings them thence, ſo that the Hereford Cabs are much terrified at his approach. That on Saturday laſt Sir *William Waller* was at Gloceſter, where he left his great pieces of Ordnance, they being not ſo neceſſarie and convenient for carriage, in regard of his ſwift intended purſuit of the Kings Forces. Munday night we heard that he had paſſed through Evesham, Gloceſter, Stow, and Chipping-Norton, and was become neer Biſſiter in Oxfordſhire, betweene Oxford and Buckingham, which is about 12. miles from each. His Majeſtie for ought we can yet heare is ſtill at Buckingham, and is verie deſirous to have ſome carts ſent to Oxford for proviſions thence, (beſides which he ſends Warrants for to the Countreys thereabouts) if they might come without being ſurprized by Sir *William Waller*. The Plague is verie hot at Oxford, ſpecially at S. *Peters* in the Eaſt, there are

are in all about 27. houſes infected with the Plague there, and there are alſo three houſes ſhut up of it at Dorcheſter in Oxfordſhire.

The ſeverall Counties of Cambridge, Suffolk, Northfolk, Hereford, Huntington, and Eſſex, are ſending forth above 20000. men, reſolving not to call them in, till they have performed ſome conſiderable ſervice againſt the Kings Forces. The Countie of Eſſex hath already ſent out a great parte of Foot, and are now raiſing Horſe and Dragoons to be ſent after them, for the well ordering and providing of which, the Committee of that Countie met together at Chelmsford on Friday June 23.

Northampton.

From Northampton it is advertiſed, that the Earle of *Leiceſter* and M. *Bagſhaw* a Bencher of the Middle Temple, once a violent man, in his Reading, againſt the practices of Biſhops, but yet afterwards revolted, and took part both with Papiſts and Biſhops againſt the Parliament, both which had lately deſerted the Kings party, were brought from Warwick to that Town, where they yet remaine, till a convenient opportunitie may be had for their ſending to London. There are now in that Town, the reſt being formerly ſent to his Excellencie, onely a Regiment of Horſe, and another of Foot, under the command of the faithfull and religious Governour thereof Col. *Whetham*. That town and the parts adjoint will alſo raiſe Forces to joyn with thoſe from Warwicke and Coventrey, for the aſſiſtance of Sir *William Waller* in the preſent deſigne.

S. Albans.

Thurſday night June 27. Major Generall *Brown* with the three Regiments of London Auxiliaries lay at *S. Albans*, the ſaid Regiments do daily increaſe very much, care being taken by the Militia of London for the ſending forth of thoſe which went not out before. From thence it is yet uncertaine whither he ſhall march in regard of the viciſſitive motion of the Kings Forces: if they once quit thoſe parts, he will be ſoone with the Berkſhire, Oxfordſhire, and Buckinghamſhire Forces before Greenland houſe.

Virginia.

Virginia.

From the Plantation at Virginia there hath come former intelligence of a diviſion there, about Diſputes, and Judgements, in the diſtractions of England, betweene the King and the Parliament; the Governour, together with a royall Faction, aſſiſted with the Papiſts of that Plantation, oppoſed the well meaning and honeſt Proteſtants, which grew to a great extenſion [illegible] the debate grew hot among themſelves, the barbarous Natives treacherouſly came upon them, to decide the quarrell: the Natives having ſubtilly inſinuated into the Engliſh, and gained the uſe of their Guns, to go out to kill Deere, by little and little gotten ſome ſtore of powder, they agreed to come at a day and houre appointed, when the ſervants of the Engliſh were at their daily workes in the field (knowing the ſtrength of every Family) divided themſelves to every family in the out-plantations, and maſſacred them, to the number of 1500. and tooke away all their guns, powder and bullet; and as it was accidentally confeſſed by one of the Natives, (which was accidentally taken by the Engliſh, and was one of them that did the maſſacre) whom the Engliſh haſtily hanged, and left him to the [illegible] againe to make him confeſſe who told them. They intended ſhortly, after they had (as they have done) got their guns and powder, to ſet upon the cloſe, in plantations by force, in open hoſtilitie.

Sir *John Gell* is not gone to beſiege Aſhby, Colonel *Haſtings* houſe, as it was reported, but hath been at *Peterborough*, to fetch from thence ſome Ordnance, which came thither by water, and he is now returned with them to *Derby*: But is ſince in perſon (with his horſe) gone to joine with Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who is march't into Lancaſhire with 6000. horſe, 2000. Dragoones, and 5000. Foot, with reſolution to fight with Prince *Rupert*, if he will abide to give battell: *Mancheſter* forces will joine with him.

Stafford.

By Letters from Stafford, dated June 21. It is advertiſed, that the Earle of *Denbigh* hath lately taken the Lord *Haſtings* his Lievtenant Colonell, one *Stampford* a Papiſt, and one Major *Holding* a Merchants Sonne of London, and ſomtime an Enſigne in the Lord Generall the Earl of *Eſſex* his owne Regiment, whom we doubt not, but will

be

be made exemplary for his Apostacie in deserting the Parliament Forces.

The report this day of taking Tong Castle in Herefordshire by the Earle of *Denbigh*, is very uncertain and groundlesse, and no Letters come for the confirmation thereof.

Friday June 28. By a Post that came that day to Towne it was certified that His Majesty was marched from Buckingham towards Banbury to meet Sir *William Waller*.

For newes from the Lord Generall, we had not any this day, but onely the 24. instant he went from Bridport towards Exceter.

Published according to Order.

Printed for T. Bates, *and* J. W. J. 1644.



MERCVRIVS AVLICVS,

Communicating the Intelligence and affaires of the Court, to the reſt of the KINGDOME.

The 24 Weeke, ending June 15. 1644.

SUNDAY. *June 9.*

THis day at Morning Prayer in all the Churches and Chappels of the Univerſity and City of *Oxon*, was publiſhed a Paper ſubſcribed by the Lords of His Majeſties moſt Honourable Privie Counſell, commanding all perſons whatſoever abiding and reſiding within this place, that according to a former Proclamation iſſued by His Majeſty, they ſhould provide ſufficient Corne and other Victualls for three whole Moneths for themſelves and their Families reſpectively: on paine that whoſoever ſhould be found (upon ſtrict ſearch and examination) not to have conformed thereunto, ſhould be turned out of Towne, as perſons inſenſible of their owne dangers, and the ſafety and ſecurity of the place. Which Order hath ſince found ſuch a cheerfull obedience by all ſorts of people, that if the Rebels ſhould attempt to Face the Town again as they did before; or to come neerer to it then they have done hitherto; they will have as little hope to *ſtarve* it, as they had to *ſtorme* it.

There came to Towne intelligence the day before, that a great blow was given the *Rebels*, by Prince *Rupert*, on the edge of *Lancaſhire*; though ſomewhat perplexed in the circumſtances, eſpecially with reference to the perſons ſaid to

be ingaged on the other ſide. But that ſome miſchiefe had befallen them, was found more then probable, by one of the intercepted Letters ſent from *Eſſex's* Souldiers; who gives this touch unto his friend, that *he was ſorry to heare the bad newes out of Lancaſhire.* That ſignified in generals, that ſome bad newes was come unto them from thoſe parts; which what it was we had this day in the particulars, in which it was advertiſed, that moſt of the Souldiers which had beene at the Siege of *Latham*, not knowing otherwiſe where or how to diſpoſe of themſelves when the Siege was raiſed, put themſelves for the preſent into *Bolton*, a ſtrong Towne and a Garriſon of the Rebels betwixt that and *Mancheſter*. Notice whereof being brought unto Prince *Rupert*, who was then upon his march for *Yorkeſhire*, his Highneſſe loath to leave behind him ſuch a *den of theeves*, advanced that way: and being come ſomewhat neere the Towne, ſent in an Officer of his to ſummon it to yeeld obedience to His Majeſty. But the inſolent Rebels were ſo confident either of their owne numbers or the ſtrength of the place, that inſtead of returning a ſatisfactory or civill Anſwer, they cauſed one of the Princes Captaines whom they had taken Priſoner not long before, to be Hanged in his ſight. Which villainous and barbarous Act ſo incenſed the Prince, that preſently he cauſed the Towne to be aſſaulted, tooke it by force, and in the fury of the Fight put to the ſword about 1200 of the Rebels; (a juſt and due requitall of their inhumanity) and tooke 600 of them Priſoners: the Towne it ſelfe together with their lives and fortunes of the Inhabitants, their Ordnance, Armes, and Ammunition, and whatſoever elſe did belong unto it, being left wholly to the will and pleaſure of the Conquerour.

And yet the *Parliament Scout* in his weekly Pamphlet ending *May* the 30. muſt abuſe the Kingdome, by telling them that Prince *Rupert was not on his march*, that *he was ſtill at* Shrewsbury, *and therefore did believe he could have no great numbers viſible.* What think you Mr. *Scout* upon more advice, could the Prince take in *Stopfort* and *Bolton*, and relieve *Latham* with ſo little numbers, and doe ſuch viſible Acts with an inviſible Army? or could he now be gone ſo farre into *Lancaſhire*

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MONDAY, *June* 10.

We told you in the 18 Weeke of the laſt yeares *Mercurie*, what care His Majeſty had taken by His Proclamation of the 2 of *May*, for the incouragement and reliefe of ſuch Souldiers as had beene hurt or maymed in His Majeſties ſervice, declaring His intention of providing for them in ſuch *Hoſpitals* and *Almes-houſes* as are within His Majeſties diſpoſing, as often as any places in the ſame ſhould become vacant; with many other clauſes for their eaſe and comfort. But being that many of His Majeſties *Almes-houſes* and *Hoſpitals* are under the command of the Rebels, who diſpoſe of all the vacant places to ſuch as had ſerved them in this Rebellion, ſo that His Majeſties wounded and maimed ſouldiers could not receive the full and entire benefit for the preſent, of that His Majeſties gracious purpoſe: it ſeemed good unto the Lords of the Privie Counſell, to ſet out an Order dated *June* 8. (and publiſhed this day in Print) for the preſent comfort and reliefe of ſuch wounded ſouldiers, as were under cure in and about the City of *Oxford*: In which it was declared and ordained, that for the better ordering of ſuch ſouldiers, who were ſicke or maimed, there ſhould be a Governor or Over-ſeer appointed over them, who ſhould have power both to receive ſuch monies as were or ſhould be raiſed for the reliefe of thoſe Souldiers, and to diſpoſe thereof according to their neceſſities, in paying of *Chirurgeons*, *Nurſes*, and other attendants: that as oft as any of the Souldiers were cured of their wounds, and were fit for ſervice, he ſhould returne their names unto the Governour of the City of *Oxford*, by whom they were to be ſent to their ſeverall Colours; but if unfit for ſervice then to returne their names to the chief Juſtice of the Kings Bench, who is thereby appointed to cõmend them to the *Treaſurers* for the Counties in which they were borne, by them to be relieved with annuall Penſions, according to their ſeverall merits and neceſſities: and finally

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nally that the *Vicechancellour* ſhould take order to appoint ſome Miniſter to *viſit* the *ſicke* and wounded Priſoners, and read *prayers* unto them: A very ſeaſonable, juſt, & religious care.

It was alſo certified this day, that His Majeſty did *recruit* apace, partly by the free and frequent coming in of His loyall Subjects from that and the adjoyning Counties: partly on the acceſſion of the whole Garriſon at *Eveſham*, which together with their Ordnance, Armes, and Ammunition were withdrawne from thence by His Majeſties eſpeciall Order; the Works thereof being of no great ſtrength, and a Garriſon there at this time of the yeare of little conſequence: and partly by the addition of ſuch of His Majeſties Forces as lay in Garriſon at *Tewkſbury*; But for the 20 barrels of Powder and pikes and Priſoners which the laſt Weeks *Scout* reports to be taken there, he may doe well to ſend them to the Earle of *Warwicke* to be brought to *London*, together with the *ſeven barrels of Silver* which his Lordſhip took (as another of their weekly Pamphlets tells us) as it was going by Sea to the Queen at *Exeter*.

TUESDAY. *June* 11.

It had been certified a day or two before, that Sir *William Waller* was on his march towards *Sudeley Caſtle*, with an intention to beſiege it; which his intent was ſignified to Sir *William Morton* the high Sheriffe of *Glouceſterſhire*, and Governour of the Caſtle for His ſacred Majeſty; who had raiſed great expectation of himſelfe, both for his courage and fidelity when he undertook it: and poſſibly might have been anſwerable to his undertakings had his men ſtood to him. But *Waller* being come before it with his whole Army (as was this day certified) and playing with his Canon upon every part of it, (of which he had no fewer then 22) ſo terrified the Souldiers being moſt of them preſſed men taken out of the Country, and ſuch as had never ſeen the warres before, that their hearts and hands began to faile them, before the Ordnance had produced any other effect then noyſe and ſmoke. Which terrour was ſo much increaſed by the loſſe of their Gunner, who was moſt unfortunately ſlaine; and the breaking of one of their Peeces of Ordnance, (whereof they had but two in all) that preſently they cryed upon the Governour of the

the Caſtle to provide for their ſafety: and were ſo hot upon that cry, that they could not be induced to make good their worke, till their ſo much deſired ſafety was provided for; but with great importunity mixed with violence, cauſed the Governour to yeild the Caſtle. And though *Waller* promiſed them upon his word to uſe them nobly (for that was all the mitigation which the ſuddenneſſe of the Argument could procure at his hands:) yet all the *noble* uſage they received of him was to be ſent Priſoners unto *Glouceſter*, whither they were all carried except the Lieutenant, who by chance eſcaped. And if all be true which is reported, their uſage was as *noble* (all things conſidered) as they had reaſon to expect, had they eſcaped his hands: it being confidently affirmed, that when *Waller* had obſerved the ſtrength of the Caſtle, and the proviſions of all ſorts which were laid up in it, he uſed words to this effect, that *If any Souldiers of his ſhould have quitted ſo defenſible a place as that upon ſuch conditions, he would give them their reward.*

WEDNESDAY. *June* 12.

But to recompence this loſſe of *Sudeley* Caſtle, we were this day advertiſed of the taking of *Borſtoll* houſe; a place of farre more conſequence for the ſafety of *Oxford*, then *Sudeley* Caſtle was for the annoyance of *Glouceſter*. His Majeſty had formerly put a Garriſon into it for the ſecuring of thoſe parts of *Oxfordſhire* from the incurſions of the *Rebels* which neſt at *Aliſbury* and *Newport*: the houſe being very ſtrong, and commodiouſly ſeated for that purpoſe. But when His Majeſty had given order to diſmantle *Reading*, and draw all His Forces into the field, the Souldiers which lay here in Garriſon were commanded to deſert the place, and put themſelves into the Army: which was no ſooner done but a partee out of *Aliſbury* ſeized upon it, with the good liking, and as ſome ſay, upon the invitation of the Lady *Denham*, whoſe houſe it is. And there they were no ſooner ſetled, but preſently they began to act all manner of inſolencies on the Country people: inſomuch as they did not onely ſeize on certaine loads of Corne which were to be carried unto *Oxford* Market upon Saturday laſt; but plundered a poore Gentlewoman one Mi-

ſtreſſe *Pits* (being aged 80 yeares at leaſt) of all her goods and wearing apparell, except one poore garment, pulled her out of the bed by the throat, and threatned to ſhoot her with a Piſtoll which they held at her breaſt, becauſe ſhe was not quicke enough to riſe out of her bed that they might ſteale away the ſheets. And the ſame day, being Monday *Iune* 10. they ſent out their Warrants to levy 60 pounds on *Burceſter*, a ſmall Towne hard by. But before the time came for returning the money, a conſiderable ſtrength of Horſe and Foot was ſent from *Oxford*, under the command of Colonell *Gage*, a right expert Souldier; who marching out of *Oxford* the ſame Munday night, ſate downe before the houſe upon Tueſday morning: firſt ſending word unto the Lady, that ſhe and others of her ſex might depart the houſe with leave and ſafety, and that he would take care to ſee her convoyed to any place ſhe had a minde to. A curteſie whereof the Lady was not worthy: who being conſcious to her ſelfe of her owne affections, not onely ſlipped away in a poore diſguiſe, but raiſed a report that ſhe was forced to take that courſe for her preſervation, and that the Colonell had refuſed to grant her a ſafe paſſage out when ſhe moſt earneſtly deſired it.

But to proceed: Aſſoone as the Colonell had notice that the Ladies were gone, the houſe was preſently inveſted by His Majeſties Forces, who fell upon it with ſuch a well-governed fury, that they quickly made themſelves Maſters of the Church, as alſo of the Barnes, Stables, and other out-houſes, (into each of which the Enemy had put ſome Souldiers;) and from thence made their Aſſaults on the houſe it ſelfe, the Colonell behaving himſelfe with as much gallantry and exemplary courage, as ever man had done on the like occaſion. Which being noted by the Rebels, they deſired a Parley, and offered to give up the houſe with all the Victuall, Ammunition, and their one Peece of Ordnance, which was all they had; conditioned they might goe away with their Armes and Horſes. And though this ſeemed too honourable a departure for them, and may be thought ſo by ſome men who looke upon the action at a greater diſtance: yet the wiſe Colonell conſidering the houſe was ſtrong, that it had coſt ſome men already, and

and that he could not force it but at dearer rates: he rather choſe to yeild to their demands then looſe more of his Souldiers, whoſe lives were farre more pretious to him then the Armes of the Rebels. According unto which agreement the Rebels yeilded up the houſe, and were convoyed in ſafety within ſight of *Alisbury*: the Convoy bringing backe to *Borſtall* ſuch Oxen, Sheepe, and other Commodities as the Countrey yeilded, both for the victualling of the houſe, and for ſupplying the neceſſities of His Majeſties Souldiers which lay quartered in and about the Citie of *Oxford*, with ſuch proviſions, as had beene otherwiſe imployed for the uſe of his Enemies.

THURSDAY. *June* 13.

This day His Majeſties Forces came backe from *Borſtall*, having ſetled a good Garriſon there both of Horſe and Foot, under the command of Major *Cunningsby*, and furniſhed them with all things neceſſary for defence thereof, & the ſecurity of thoſe parts againſt the Rebels. By means wherof, and by putting into *Abingdon* a ſtrong Garriſon of 1000 Foot (which went thither upon Saturday laſt with five Peeces of Ordnance) and ſending 500 more to *Wallingford*; the Citie of *Oxford* is not only well flankered on all quarters, as it was before, but a good part of the *Tertia* which His Majeſtie left behind Him when he went towards *Worceſter*, is very conveniently diſpoſed of, to the great eaſe of the Country.

The newes of the defeat which was given the *Scots* by the Marqueſſe of *New-Caſtle*, (whereof we told you the laſt weeke) was confirmed this day in part, by certaine Gentlemen, who came from *Newarke* upon Monday: where it was conſtantly reported, that the Marqueſſe had ſallied out of *York*, and fallen upon them at a place called the *Ring-houſes*, (which is within a mile of *Yorke*, and killed 2000 in the place, whereof more on Saturday. And it was alſo ſignified by ſome letters thence, dated *June* 6. that the Princes comming towards *Yorkſhire*, is apprended for a matter of ſuch dangerous conſequence, that it hath put the Rebells of both Nations into a moſt deſperate condition, and made them fall upon a reſolution of *ſtorming* YORKE, (though the *Scots* had rather they ſhould

force it,) for feare they ſhould be *ſtormed* themſelves when the Prince came neere them. What happened on this reſolution you ſhall heare anon.

It had beene formerly advertiſed that the good Earle of *Denbigh* (one of as odious an ingratitude as the Earle of *Holland*) had gathered a great body of Rebells together, and beſeiged *Dudley* Caſtle; which hitherto had been made good againſt him by Captaine *Leveſon*, the noble Governour of the place. And it was certified this day by letters that His Majeſty on Tueſday *June* 11. ſent the Lord *Wilmot* with the Earle of *Northamptons* and the Earle of *Clevelands* Brigades of horſe, and 1000 foot to the releife of the beſeiged: the newes of whoſe approach being brought to the Earle of *Denbigh*, he retreated with all ſpeed that might be. But our men following cloſe upon them beate them from the ground, where they made a ſtand, and forced them to retreat againe in ſo great diſorder, that it was no better then a plaine and downe-right routing: and in this action (which was performed with the loſſe of ſcarce 20 men, and not one Officer at all,) His Majeſties forces tooke two colours of horſe, two *Majors* of foot, 2 Captaines, 3 Lieutenants, and 50 common ſouldiers priſoners; and killed many of them in the fight, which were an hundred at the leaſt, as theſe letters teſtifie. And it was alſo ſignified from *Banbury*, that Yeſterday night about ſix of the cloek all the horſe and foot were drawne out of *Warwicke* to goe to help his Lordſhip to conclude the ſeige; but meeting on the way with the news of his routing, they returned back again this morning. Had not his Lordſhip had this blow, he had intended (as was ſaid) to have ſhewed himſelfe before *Banbury* Caſtle, and to that end had warned all the forces in *Newport*, *Northampton*, *Warwicke*, and *Coventry* to be in readineſſe to attend him: which purpoſe they at *Banbury* were glad to heare of, having provided all things fitting for the entertainment of ſuch a gracious Lord.

FRIDAY. *June* 14.

This day the Faſt was kept in *Oxford* according to His Majeſties Proclamation, the Biſhop of *Kal-Alla*, (but better knowne by the name of the Biſhop of *Roſſe*,) preaching at *Chriſt-*

Christ-Church before the Duke of *Yorke*, and the Lords of His Majesties privie Counsell. And as the speech of heaven doth many times beget the mention of hell, so the excellent performance of this Reverend Prelate, brings to my mind the ridiculous and prophane carriage of the Rebells at their *Mock-fast* at *Samford* (within 2 miles of *Oxford*) upon Wednesday *May* 29. being the last Wednesday in the Moneth, and the day in which they marched towards *Islip*. In which was nothing more observable then that they had that day foure Sermons one after another (for it is not *fast and pray*, but *fast and preach* with the *Puritan* faction) all of them preached (if I may use so good a word to so ill a purpose) by their inspired *Lay-Mechanicks*: one of which was a *Tallow-Chandler*, now one of the greatest *lights* in their congregation, and being of a *burning* zeale prayed to God most fervently *to deliver the King into their hands, that he might goe along with his Elect*, (such *Elect vessells* are they all, but especially this learned *Candlestick*.)! No wonder if the souldiers did such gallant things that day as they passed by *Oxford*, having beene so incouraged and inflamed by this zealous *Exercitor*.

You heard before in the 18 weeke of this yeares *Mercury*, that the Earles of *Crauford* and *Montrosse*, with others of the *Scottish* Nobilitie, had raysed a party for the King in the South of *Scotland*, and tooke in *Dunfrize*. After which prosperous successe some others of the *Scottish* Lords joyned with them, and amongst others the Lord *Johnston*, a family of great power and consideration in the parts next *England*; who, as it proved, came to them on no other purpose then to doe service to the Rebells; to whom he did discover both the strength and counsells of the loyall party, and thereby disappointed them in their maine designe. Which being perceived by the Earle of *Montrosse*, he came into *England* with his Forces, being 6000 or thereabouts; and following the same rode in the course of his journey which the *Scottish Rebells* did before, first tooke in *Morpeth*, a Town of *Northumberland*, in which the *Scots* had left a Garrison before they passed over the *Tine*, and after made himselfe Master of *Lumley* Castle, where they had left another Garison when they went towards *Yorke-shire*: and after following

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lowing his good fortune poſſeſſed him of the South *Shields*, and *Sunderland*, being all the fortified places the *Scots* hold in *England*, betwixt the *Tees* and the *Twede*: and that upon the taking of theſe two laſt places, which are of ſpeciall uſe and conſequence for the Sea-cole-trade, 200 ſhips which came from *London*, to ſtore the City with cole for the winter following, were faine to goe backe againe without their errand. There came alſo with thoſe letters an Advertiſement, that the *Scots* had ſent a partee of 700 horſe for the conveiance of ſuch *plunder* as they had gotten in *England*, to their friends and Countrimen at home, the better to invite them hither to purſue the action: which being met with by the ſaid Earle of *Montroſſe*, and by him ſeized upon as a lawfull prize, was preſently diſtributed amongſt his owne Souldiers, which came in for the ſervice of the King.

It was alſo certified this day from *Newarke*, by letters of the 6 of *June*, that 1500 *Scots* were got into *Mancheſter* under the conduct of that old *Scottiſh* Rebell Sir *John Meldrum*, once a Gentleman of His Majeſties privie Chamber. Which as it was not done without the privitie and approbation of the prevailing faction which remaines at *Weſtminſter*; who ſeeing they could neither put them into *Hull* nor *New-caſtle*, thought themſelves bound (according to the Articles of their Agreement) to ſee them put into ſome Towne of as great importance; ſo is it a ſtrong Argument of their deviliſh purpoſe, rather to make the whole Nation ſlaves to the *Scottiſh* Rebells, then that they ſhould returne to the obedience of their lawfull King. And to that end (for what elſe can be aimed at in it?) the *Rebell Scots* have given forth that they will ſend new forces into *England* to purſue the plot, which is ſaid to be by the procurement and ſollicitation of the Earle of *Lanericke*, His Majeſties Secretary of Eſtate for the Kingdome of *Scotland*, but are to be under the command of the Lord of *Almond*, who having had the leading of the *Scots* at the paſſage of *Newborne*, was after pardoned by His Sacred Majeſty, and made Earle of *Calender*. Never did any former Age produce ſuch monſters of ingratitude (I dare boldly ſay it) as are now actively ingaged in this Rebellion againſt the perſon of a bountifull and gracious

ous Maſter. But neither their diſloyaltie, nor ingratitude will be long unpuniſhed.

It was advertiſed this day from *Wallingford*, that certaine of His Majeſties Officers who went hence the laſt week, have met with ſome of the ſicke Souldiers of the Rebels who were left behinde about the Country; many of which have *Paſſes* to conveigh them to *London*, which beare date at the *Seige at Oxford*. The ſeige of *Goſworth*'tis they meane (will theſe ſtale cheating tricks to abuſe the Citizens, be in faſhion alwayes?) But friends, you need not be aſhamed of the ſeige of *Goſworth*, if all be true your Pamphlets tell us. For they aſſure us of a certaine, that the King loſt 2000 men in thoſe ſeverall fights, & that there were 8 cart-loads of dead bodies carried away, beſides thoſe which were buried. Compare this with the 10 or 12 which ſome of your intercepted letters ſay was all you loſt; & was it not a glorious victory, when for every man you loſt you kil'd 200? But this is only a miſtake in figures, two cyphers added to the number, & no more then ſo; or elſe a very ſtrange accompt to miſreckon 99 in every hundred. And for the eight cart-load of dead bodies, were they not your own? or might they not be miſtaken think you, for ſo many load or more of Victuals, Armes, and Ammunition, which were carried back, when the Kings Forces were commanded to the walls of *Oxford*? If you dare tell ſuch monſtrous lies in a thing ſo neere us, how ſhall we credit you in matters which are farther off, when you may lie with more ſecuritie, and with leſſe feare of being diſproved, ſhould we goe about it?

Finally, it was advertiſed this day alſo, that his Majeſtie intending to lead *Waller* a further dance, and draw him into Countries where he had fewer friends, & ſo ſhould rather waſte then increaſe his Army, had paſſed over the *Severne*, and was gone to *Bewdley*; as cloſely followed by the *London* Pamphlets, as he is by *Waller*: who not daring to look towards *Worceſter* (for feare the angry women ſhould flie out upon him, as they did the laſt yeere) was marching up to *Bromeſgrove*. But for the *London* Pamphlets they have traced his Majeſtie at the very heels, following him firſt to *Burford*, and then to *Cyrenceſter*, from thence to *Briſtoll*, afterwards to *Exeter*, and back againe to *Worceſter*, and at laſt to *Shrewsbury* (I ſee the *Scout* is wiſer then I thought he had bin, when he projected for 500 li. *per annum* to be given amongſt them to ſerve the State with true intelligence) And ſome of them are ſo obſervant of his actions, that they report as knowingly (as if they had been preſent at the doing of it) that His Majeſtie was fain to draw his ſword upon his ſouldiers when they went from

Oxford, and to drive them before him towards *Chipping-Norton*: and this ſaith one of them (the *Scout*) *is the firſt time that ever we heard he drew his ſword*; (take heed he draw it not on you at laſt for your lies and treaſons) But I am weary of theſe trifles, of following the poore *Pamphletters* in this *Wild-gooſe-chaſe*, and return to buſineſſe.

SATURDAY. *Iune* 15.

It was advertiſed by letters late this Evening, that the *Scots* and the *Scottizing Engliſh* being fallen upon a reſolution (as before I told you) of ſtorming *Yorke*, before the Prince (who as they heard was haſtening out of *Lancaſhire*) ſhould come in to hinder it; in purſuance of the ſaid deſigne, ſent the maine bodie of their horſe under the command of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and Colonell *Cromwell* to ſtop the paſſages, & hold him play a little whilſt they did the feat: which done, they fell upon the Towne on Sunday *Iune* 2, *Leſley*, *Mancheſter*, and *Fairfax*, with their ſeverall forces attempting every one his part: but were moſt gallantly repulſed by the Marquiſſe of *Newcaſtle*, whoſe ſouldiers carried themſelves as bravely in this daies ſervice, as could be poſſibly deſired. And the Rebels found it to their coſt. For retiring as they did in great confuſion, the Marqueſſe ſallied out upon them, killed & took 1500 of them, and brought away one piece of Canon for a ſigne or Trophie of a victorie. (What think you Maſter *Scout*, call you this a Parley?) and this was probably the ground of the report which came from *Banbury* on Saturday laſt, touching the beating of the *Scots* from the ſiege at *Yorke*, and killing and taking thouſands of them, whereof we told you the laſt week: and is like to be the ſame with that which came from *Newarke* upon Thurſday, about the killing of 2000 *Scots* at a place called the *Ring-houſes*; but whether it be ſo or no, I determine not. It was alſo certified in thoſe letters, that the Earle of *Mancheſter* was ſhrine in this dayes action, (and queſtionleſſe he was either ſo loſt, or frighted that he was not to be found in two whole daies after:) but they that know him well doe hope otherwiſe of him. For though he be reported for a valiant Gentleman, and one that dares venture as far as any man in the ſafe contrivance of a treaſon: yet when it comes to execution, he hath ſo much wiſdome as to reſerve his perſon to ſome eaſier ſervice. And therefore 'tis to be preſumed that he choſe rather to beſtow a viſit on ſome Caſtle, or other (as he did at the battell of *Edgehill*, when he went to *Warwicke*) from whence he might receive intelligence how the day ſucceeded, and afterwards appear, or remaine *incognito*, as his occaſions and the reformation in hand ſhould require. Which elſe would loſe it's firmeſt pillar and ſtouteſt contriver,

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It was advertiſed this day alſo, that Prince RUPERT having taken *Bolton*, and being certified by Letters from the Marqueſſe of *Newcaſtle*, that they at *Yorke* were in a very good condition, and able to hold out till the end of this Moneth, and therefore that his Highneſſe might goe on with his worke in *Lancaſhire*; made uſe of the intelligence, and marched towards *Leverpoole*, an Haven towne of *Lancaſhire*, on the edge of *Cheſhire*: and that he did not only take the Towne, though not without great reſiſtance, and therein 19 piece of Ordnance, much Armes and Ammunition and good ſtore of victuals, with 20 Ships, and ſmaller Barkes which he found in the Haven; but killed 400 *Scots* who were come thither lately (with more haſte then ſpeed) to relieve the Towne. This was on Monday and Tueſday, *June* 11. and 12. But being it was an action of ſuch maine importance to His Majeſties ſervice, I ſhall be more particular in the ſtory of it, which in briefe is this. The Rebells knowing of what conſequence it was to keepe that Town theirs, had placed a Garriſon therein of 15 Colours of Foot, beſides 400 *Scots*, who came thither by water under pretence of keeping it for the uſe of the *Parliament*, but in plaine truth, to get both that and *Manchester* into their owne poſſeſſion (put them out who could) But long they were not ſuffered to continue there. For the Prince conſidering with himſelfe of what great conſequence the place would prove to the advancement of his Majeſties affaires, and what intolerable preſſures were impoſed on the Country by it, firſt gave it out in generalls only, that he had ſome deſigne upon it: & after finding how the Country were affected with it, and how ready to imbrace the action, he paſſed his word not to depart out of that Country till the Towne were taken. This made the Country riſe and keepe in the Rebells; as they did divers dayes till the Prince came to them: who having ſent ſome horſe and foote to face *Warington* a Towne on the *Lancaſhire* ſide of the River *Mercey*, but not far from *Leverpoole*, cauſed the Lord *Molineux* to ſummon the Towne on Friday, which was *June* 7. But they refuſing to give eare to ſo good a motion, the Prince himſelfe ſent in a Trumpeter to ſummon it on the morrow after: the killing of whoſe horſe under him (ſo ſoone had they forgot how deare their friends of *Bolton* paid for their incivility) was the beſt and moſt ſignificant part of their Anſwer to him. The defiance being thus given, and the warre proclaimed, his Highneſſe cauſed three pieces to be planted upon Monday morning, which he fired himſelfe, and tarried in the Trenches all that day and night, whileſt the Army fell upon the Towne. On Tueſday earely the *red Regiment* had forced

ced their entrance through the works, and did execution on the Rebells both *Scots* and *English*, till the Prince came in; at whose command the Souldiers ceased from shedding blood, and betooke themselves unto the pillage. The booty which accrewed to His Sacred Majestie, (besides what was indulged the Souldiers both to incourage and reward them) was (as before I told you) 19 pieces of Ordnance, with a proportionable quantity of Armes and all sorts of Ammunition, (to which some adde 3000 firelocks, and they say they speake with the least,) and 20 ships, whereof though some might passe by the name of *Barkes*, yet there were 6 tall ships considerable both for bulke and service, some of them thought to be of the Kings owne Navy.

But yet this prize, though indeed very great and seasonable, was not of such concernment to His Sacred Majesty, as the place it selfe. For by this meanes His Majesty hath gotten a commodious Port, from whence to send for supplies to his King some of *Ireland*(oppositе unto which it lyeth.) and to receive such succours by it as his Subjects of that Kingdome have provided for him: *whose Armies are in the field already, and like to advance against the* Scots, if my *Scout* tell true. And by the taking of this Towne and the other glorious successes which God hath given him in those parts, his Army is increased to so great a strength, that some of the *London* Pamphlets doe report him to be 14000 strong at least. One of them being so bold and saucy as to give this *Item* to the *States*; that if they did not looke unto it and *prevent it* in time, it would prove *another Edge-hill businesse*. What say you friend, was *Edge-hill* such a fatall and unluckie *businesse*, that you give warning to the *States* to *prevent* the like? The speeches at *Guild-Hall* report it for a glorious victory; and dare you set so sad a Character upon it, as to reckon it amongst your losses and misfortunes? Take heed the telling of a truth this once, doe not disable you from printing lies for ever after.

And now what doth Prince MAURICE thinke you? Doth he sit idle in the *West*, whilest his Brother doth such glorious things in the *North* of *England*? No, say the Pamphlets from *London*, Prince MAURICE *is before* Lyme *still, and threatneth all the extreamities which the sword and fire can inflict*. Is Prince MAURICE then at *Lyme*? that's somewhat: you used to say it was his Ghost in your former Pamphlets. But doth he nothing else but *threaten*? yes, saith another, that he doth, and had reduced the Towne unto such extreamities, that *they had not victuall for two dayes*. But is he like to carry it at last, though long first? No, saith a third,

a third, his *Excellency* is going thither to raiſe the ſiege; and that done, to recover the *Weſt*, and take in *Briſtoll*, (they will be ſtill *reckoning with-out their hoſt*, whatſoever come of it.) But is this all, or all this true? No, we ſhall tell you otherwiſe from his owne Letters dated *June* 11. (being the day in which Prince RUPERT tooke in *Leverpoole*) the ſubſtance of which is to this effect; that *His Highneſſe Forces are ſo neere the Towne, that they can throw ſtones at one another*; that *He had burnt a third part of the Towne, and within a day or two (if it did not yeeld) meant to burne the reſt.* To which other good advices adde, that *His Highneſſe Armie is* 6000 *Foot, and* 1500 *Horſe, beſides the Gentrie of the Country*, which are firme and loyall; and *that the Earle of* Eſſex *is not much increaſed ſince he looked towards the* Weſt, *there being not one Gentleman of name and quality come in unto him.* This makes it probable that the Towne is tooke before this time, or at leaſt made unſerviceable to the uſe of the *Rebells*; and then the Lord *Paulet* may have hope to keepe his lands: *a thouſand pounds* whereof *per annum* is by ſpeciall Ordinance *conferred and confirmed on the Towne of Lyme*; the reſt which is 3000 *li.* more by the yeare (for they have *Audited* his Eſtate alreadie) being to be diſtributed as their Pamphlets tell us, *amongſt the Officers, Commanders, and deſerving ſouldiers.* A braveand bountifull reward, worthy the equity and wiſedome of ſuch mighty *States.*

And now being fallen into the company of theſe ſilly Pamphleters, I know not how to rid my hands of them, and yet am loath to foule my fingers with ſuch durty wares; but that the irreconcilable differences which occurre amongſt them, all credulouſly ſwallowed by the ſottiſh *Londoners*, becauſe all *printed according to Order*, deſerve to be preſented to the publike view. As for example: One ſaith, that *It is thought the Citie of* York *will be taken within few dayes*; Another, that *the Towne wants nothing, and the ſiege will be long*; (ſomewhat the longer for the Sally of the ſecond of *June.*) One, that *the Parliament Forces have taken the Mannor Houſe at* York, *by making a paſſage to it under ground*: Another, that *the taking of the Mannor houſe by myning is ſomewhat improbable, by reaſon of the abundance of ſprings which are neare unto it*, (perhaps they undermined thoſe ſprings, and ſent them to the Ocean another way.) One tells us, *that the new* Scots *are ten thouſand ſtrong*; Another, *that their Army is* 7000 *onely*, (it ſeemes they were 10000 when they came firſt into *England*, and that three thouſand of the ten are killed or run away already.) One tells us, that *His Majeſtie was faine*

to

to draw his Sword to drive his Souldiers forward toward Chipping-Nor-ton; Another, that *it was not so, but that the* KING *stood talking with them halfe an houre at an Ale-house doore, to perswade them to it*; Ano-ther writes, *they heare that Prince* RUPERT *is come into* Yorkshire, Ano-ther, that *He is so shut up within the County of* Lancaster, *that he will find it a taske of great difficulty to get out againe.* (it may be his Dogge *Boy* hath carried his Forces through the aire to despite the Parliament.) One certifies us of the *taking of some certaine Ships, in one of which were found seven barrells of silver going to the* QUEENE; Others assure with as great a confidence, that *the whole prize was worth no more then* 8000 *l.* (why Sir, perhaps they were such barrels, as we use to put up pickled *Oysters*, or *Anchoves* in.) Some give us intelligence of a brave exploit done by those of *Lyme*, who fell upon the Princes Quarters, and killed 400 of his men; almost 300 said another; and a third who seemes to be most punctuall in the story of *Lyme*, doth passe it over very gravely, with a *nihil dicit*; (this last accounteth the killing of 3 or 400 of His Ma-jesties Souldiers, with the losse of 8 onely of their owne, for a thing of nothing.) One tells us of *the death of* AULICUS; Another that *he is not dead, but silenced on the going away of the Lord* George Digby, (as if the *ghost* of AULICUS could not write a *Mercury*, as well as Prince MAU-RICE his *ghost* burne Townes. But I shall tire my selfe and the Reader too, in wandring up and downe in these intricate *Labyrinths*. This is enough to shew with what vile stuffe they abuse the Kingdome; and what great pitty 'tis 500 *per annum* were not given amongst them, ac-cording to the Proposition of my friend the *Scout*, which I most heartily commend to the grave wisedome of the *States*; and so make an end.

And yet I must crave leave to adde one *Advertisement* more, which came this day from many quarters of the Kingdome; from which it hath beene certified with hearts full of sorrow: that though this be the *Whit-sun weeke*: yet the poore people generally over all the Country, have had a very dull and an heavy *Whitsontide*. The reason of the which is conceived to be, because the *high and mighty* the *Lords* and *Commons* which remaine at *Westminster*, (amongst those many notable Acts of *Reformation* which will ennoble and commend them to all posterities) had passed an *Ordinance* of late for the demolishing of *May-poles*; and putting downe of *Morisco dances*, *whitson Ales* and such like *carnall* recreations, with which vaine youth did use to delight themselves at this time of the yeare, to the hazard of a double *fugge*, and a pennyworth besides the making of a purse to discharge the *Taberer*.

FINIS.



Numb. 41.

Mercurius Britanicus.

Communicating the affaires of great

BRITAINE:

For the better Information of the People.

From *Monday* the 24. of *June*, to *Monday* the 31. of *June*. 1644.

I Shall begin with a new buſineſſe of *King* and *Parliament*: The *houſe* of *Commons*, have taken *Colonell Kings* impriſonment into a ſad and ſerious debate, and have voted it a *breach* of priviledge, and *liberty* of the *Subjects*; the houſe of *Commons* ſtill appeare the conſervatory of the Subjects *propriety*; but what will they ſay at *Oxford* when we *impriſon* a *King* as well as a *Colonell*, the man hath a gallant ſpirit, and hath done excellent ſervice, and I hope, ſcornes to go abroad for a ſtroke at home, eſpecially when he findes the houſe of Peeres ready to maintaine the like propriety. Coll. King.

The *Commons* tooke into conſideration the buſineſſe of the *Vintners*, their advance of moneys for the ſervice of *Gloceſterſhire*; it is good when the very *Vine* bears ſome grape for the publick, and the *Taverns* grow wel-affected, and the wine runs out into the ſervice of the State, and in a juſt recompence gives a ſober *Contribution*, for the many diſorders, and intoxications it hath committed in the Kingdom. Vintners.

The *Soape buſineſſe* and the moneys come in upon it to the *Committee*, is *ordered* to be payed out for *Ammunition* for the State, ſo as the *Soape* is now become a publicke Utenſill for ſcowring the Kingdom, but we ſtand in need of a new project for *Soape*, the State is ſo foule and ſtained with *Idolatry* and *Superſtition*, and *Malignity*. Soape.

It is *ordered* that our *brethren of Scotlands Auxiliary Army* be accepted into the Kingdom to our aſſiſtance, and that the *Committee* of both Kingdoms do informe the Kingdom of *Scotland* by a Letter, of this *Vote*, indeed our brethren deſerve ſo well by their firſt, their grand Army, that we may well open our doors to let in the ſecond, and I thinke a third too, Auxiliary Army of Scotland Voted to come in.

all will be too little againſt the *Popery* that is in Armes againſt us.

His Excellencies Letter to be anſwered.

It is *ordered* in the houſe that an anſwer be drawn up to his *Excellencies Letter*, the effect to be this, that the houſes deſire his *Excellency* to take all advantages on the enemy, and to proceed in his advance to the reliefe of the Weſterne Counties, it is but fit and honeſt that the *Generall* ſhould be thus anſwered, and ſo long as our intercourſe of Paper makes no worſe *muſicke*, we ſhall none of us be ſad; we never ſigh, but when the Inke is too black they write with, and when the pen is as ſharpe as the point of their ſword.

Weſterne Gentry.

There is an *Ordinance* to be drawn up for inabling the *Weſterne Gentry* to go down and put the Ordinances of *Parliament* in execution; indeed it is not fit that the Gentry go abroad now, when their *Country* is comming home; there is no engine that will fix the Country people better, then the men of quality they know, and it is not imaginable how the appearance of ſuch *ſtars* will influence upon the people, and act the drowſie multitude into new motions, and put even a Southern ſpirit into the Weſt, theſe Gentry have ſhewed great zeale both to the Cauſe, and to the Generall.

Yorke.

The buſineſſe of *Yorke*, is that on which all the eyes of the *Kingdom* is fixed, and the *Malignants* looke on it ſo *gazingly*, that their eyes water and they ſee double and ſaw monſtrous appearances in their laſt *Intelligence*, that the Earle of *Mancheſters* Army was routed, the *Siege* raiſed, *Rupert* arrived, and ſure this was done to *lie* the City out of its extremity at once, and make their friends live one hour at *London* upon a Comfortable piece of *Paper*.

I told you the laſt weeke every dimenſion of that buſineſſe, how we received a *breach* as well as made one, 160. is about the juſt account, how many cyphers more the *Ghoſt* of *Aulicus* and his friends in black may adde for reputation to their *Cauſe*, I cannot yet tell ye, it may be they may put in two cyphers more to make an end of the buſineſſe, there are ſome circumſtances yet behinde after the *Treaty* broke off, they were obſerved to make a *fire* on the top of the *Minſter* by night, ſure it was the *zeale* of the *Cathedrall* men, which keeps ſuch ado with the *Common Prayer* in the body of the *Minſter* till it flame out at the top, but this was ſome ſparkling ſigne of *Intelligence*; and I warrant you *Aulicus* will tell ſome *prodigy* upon this, and ſay that ſome of the ſparkes fell in *Lancaſhire*, and *Liverpoole* to ſet Prince *Rupert* on fire, for raiſing the *Siege*, I am perſwaded if *carnall confidence* and *Common Prayer* will raiſe it, it ſhall be done, for they have enough of that in *Yorke* every morning.

Some that have deſerted Oxford.

There are *ſome* of late *returned* into the Parliament from *Oxford*, the

Earle

Earle of Kenoule, Captain of his *Majesties guard*, and Serjeant *Glanvill* an assistant to the *Lords house*, and the Earle of *Newport*, who is gone to the Lord *Generall*; and some other *noble Lords*, I wish they left all *Oxford* behinde them when they came, and then they are welcome, if not, I would they were at their old Colledges again.

His *Majestie* rides a *bloody progresse* this Summer to *Evesham*, to *Worcester*, to *Kiddermaster*, to *Beudley*, to *Whitney*, to *Burford*, to *Aylesbury*, to *Hockley* in *Bedfordshire*, to *Leighton*, and so to *Bedford*, these are the *Plundring Stages* they ride, they kill men, and ravish women, and take horses, and *Plunder Mayors*, and *Magistrates*, they care not how they use them it seemes (because they are the Kings Officers) A plundering progresse.

The *Associated Counties* are *rising*, though it be a little with the latest, is it not strange that we should lie *sleeping*, and our doors open, and all our own Armies gone beyond his Majestie, and his Majestie now at length beyond them, riddle me, riddle, me whats this.

I shall print a thing as I had it, if it be dangerous do not reade it.

Now before him, then behinde him,
Yet we know not where to finde him;
'Tis a pretty game we play,
Sometimes we, and sometimes they,
Sometimes over, sometimes under,
One day well, the next day plunder.

A Ridle.

The *Malignants* of the *Associated Counties* are not so nimble and active in rising up at the Kings comming as they were, for they see which way the game playes, too much towards *Ireland*, and they consider the many goodly *Sequestrations* that have followed these designes, and the *Kings party* have only done them the courtesie to draw them within the line of *Confiscation* to the publike, and there leave them to the mercy of the Parliament, for they have very little of their owne. Malignants grow cunning.

From Letters out of the North, we heare the Earle of *Calendar* hath arrived in this Kingdome with his Army, and it is time for us to call in our Brethren, the Rebels of *Ireland* will come in too fast now *Leverpoole* is taken, the wattage from *Ireland* is as easie, and as short a passage, as it is from their Protestant Religion, into Popery, which is now almost all one Continent. Earle of Calendar.

Colonell *Charles Fairfax*, Col: *Welden*, and Col: *Bethell* with three Regiments, divers foote and dragoones were advanced to *Durham*; *Montrosse*, *Ogley*, and *Clavering* were gone back to *Newcastle*, that Col: Fairfax, &c.

enemy had a *deſigne* of creeping in at the back doore of our *Siege*, but that we kept a ſtrong guard; *Newcaſtle* and the *Colepits* are yet a Sanctuary, but there is ſo many *Coles*, you will ſee it ſhortly too hot for them.

Aſſociated Counties.

Hertfordſhire, and the other Counties are in good readineſſe, *Northampton*, *Warwicke*, and *Leiceſter* ſend out a proportionable force, and *Lincolnſhire* a thouſand horſe and dragoones: have a little patience, and his Majeſties 8000. they talk on may grow more or leſſe; there is no feare in this buſineſſe, but the *Aſſociated Counties* being ſo ſuddenly wakened, may not ſee their way well at the firſt; ſure we ſhall open our eyes earlyer hereafter, and not ſtay till the enemy jog us, and ſounds Trumpets in our very eares.

Greenvill.

The ghoſt of *Greenvill* that was gibbeted neere the *Exchange*, and hanged in a Proclamation not long ſince, keeps an apoſtating noiſe in *Cornwall*, and gathered up ſome 2000. horſe and foote, till the Lord *Roberts* advance into thoſe parts, and there is no feare but they will then come to themſelves again, and may poſſibly ſee *Popery* ſo neere *Wales*; nor do I ever expect to ſee *Greenvils* men ſtay long with him, for he hath taught them a trick, not to ſtay long in a Cauſe.

His Excellencies advance.

His *Excellency* bends himſelf towards *Exeter*, or *Briſtoll*, we ſhall ſee ſhortly the inclination of that Army; *Her Majeſty* is not yet delivered, I mean, from his Excellencies Army.

Muſquetiers on horſeback.

The *Eſſex Muſquetiers* in this advance of the *Aſſociation* go on *horſebacke*, it is well the reſt of the Counties had been on horſeback too, wee had not been ſo late, ſo behinde, and before the Kings forces as we are.

Weſtern cloud much diſſipated.

His Excellency hath much diſſipated the *cloud* of the Weſtern Aſſociation, gathering by *Hopton*, this is honeſt *Ralph*, and you remember, I undertook for him he ſhould never ſtrike ſtroke again, nor ſhew his face in the field, he was ſo diſfigured with powder and Popery.

Some of our *Pamphlets* who have had an old trick of encouraging the *Malignants* in a by-way, and a Lane by himſelfe, writes of 800. horſe, and 6000. foot that Prince *Rupert* hath, now I have often obſerved, that he prints the enemy ſtill in a greater Letter then his friends; one drop of my pen is enough, I hope he will need no more, for I muſt diſcover, and will not ſuffer poyſon to be ſent abroad to the Kingdome in *Parliament Paper*, and let us call the other party as we ſhould do, *Malignants*, and not write half-lines, *The Malignants as they are called*: and Corn is as cheap in *Yorke* as in the Leaguer; leave looking towards *Oxford*, when you write of *Yorke*.

Forces waiting upon Ruperts motion.

Sir *Tho: Fairfax*, and Col: *Cromwell*, and our *Brethrens* forces with them, and ſome more foot drawne out of the Weſt, are advanced to *Rippon*,

Rupert

Rupert it ſeemes ſince ſome ſparkes fell from the top of *Yorke Minſter* into *Lancaſhire*, is haſtening for their reliefe, he makes his way towards *Craven*, it ſeemes by that he expects the drawing up of ſome *Northern forces* towards him to encreaſe his ſtrength; the great preparations there on both ſides puts us all into a poſture of expectation, and I muſt profeſſe I look for no great advancement of our ſucceſſe, I ſee Reformation advance ſo little, I mean not in the poſitive, but the negative way, that is, let us have the worſt caſt out, till the beſt be brought in, and let the roome be ſwept in the mean time; let us out with our Common prayer booke by ſome Order, let us down with our high places, and let theſe Orders be executed by the Committees of each County; But why do I ſpeake, there is an Aſſembly ſitting, they muſt be Agents, or we ſhall be Patients.

The ſins that may cauſe our ill ſucceſſe.

Canterbury the *grand Idolater*, not yet executed: A *Covenant* entered into to *reforme* in a reall Reformation to the word of God, and the beſt Reformed Churches, and the Common prayer yet held up, which is an offence to them all, and no Order for laying it downe, no effectuall Order for the Committees in every County to pull down the high places in the Churches: Theſe for the preſent.

There is a great deſigne ſecretly working, and the ſecret is, a good party is made engineers by the bad, and malignant, and they doe not obſerve it.

All *Anabaptiſts*, *Independents*, and *Browniſts* are the party pretended now to trouble our buſineſſe, and if this go on, you ſhall ſcarce have an honeſt man, but he ſhall be made an *Anabaptiſt*, or an *Independent* preſently, this was the calumnie the enemy charged upon us at the firſt, and now we gratifie their *deſigne*, and charge it upon our ſelves, what? ſhall we take up the *Jeſuiticall engines* of names and notions? we ſhall never agree in our Religion, if we ſerve the *Jeſuite* in holding up theſe names: what, ſhall we cry *Anabaptiſts*? ſhall we cry *Independants*? ſhall wee cry *Browniſts*? Let the *Papiſt* drive on their own *deſign*, let not us come into the work with them, What ever theſe differences are, they are all on this ſide of *Oxford* I am ſure, let us firſt diſpute it out with the *Papiſt*, and then we ſhall have more time to argue it amongſt our ſelves, and they are no friends to this Cauſe, that would have us conquer one another, before we conquer the enemy. Jeſuiticall Engines.

I deſire all to take notice of a grand deſigne againſt us, the enemy ſeekes to divide (by ſecret underminings and operations amongſt us) our Armies and Parliament one from another, but I hope we ſhall not ſo far accommodate their deſigne, as to meet it in the half way.

Such is the unhappineſſe of this *age*, that notwithſtanding we are upon a Reformation, yet the *Roman Miſts* are ſtill ſo thick that we cannot ſee through the Cloud-neſſe of them, nor diſcerne how our adverſaries practiſe to *rend us* into diviſions to put on their own Plot (as I have ſaid before, which is agitated by Jeſuits, and to inſtance a particular of the *Counſells* and deſignes moved by that Party in this Kingdom: I ſhall really, to confirme your Judgements give you notice that upon the 22. of *June* inſtant *Novo Stilo*, the Lord *Goring* privately gave a *viſit* to the *Jeſuits* in Saint *Anthonies* ſtreet in *Paris*, to recompence them, in a ſhew of complement for the many and frequent viſits that the Jeſuits beſtow of him and Maſter *Browne*, another of his Majeſties Agents in the Court of *France*, you may gueſſe what are the influence of ſuch Counſells, which have ſo devided us and ſo neere ruined us; we muſt Counter Plot them, and we need no more but truth, which will never deceive us.

The expectation where his *Majeſtie* and Sir *Will. Waller* is, is much in the preſent expectation, they were on *Friday* night within three miles of each others, it was expected an ingagement between both parties would follow, the noble Sir *William Waller* would not decline for the publique, but ſome ſay his Majeſtie hath taken ſo many freſh horſes that he will out ride them, I confeſſe I hear that his Majeſtie will be ſtill aforehand, and hath taken ſo many horſes that *Buckinghamſhire* and *Bedfordſhire*, are bound to cal him the *Royall Plunderer*, it is the ſadneſſe of a good ſubject to ſee ſuch a Royall miſcarriage.

His Excellency advanceth well (though not with ſuch wings as ſome within lines of Communication would or at leaſt wayes fancie he might) he muſt ſometimes go out of his way to turne into his way, his carriages would not be paſſed by *Axminſter*, yet out of the way to *Chard* brought him to a better convenience, and is now in a good Road to *Exceſter*.

The Queen is there, the *amiſſe* of the Kingdom hath made ſomewhat (as is conceived) *amiſſe* with her, a daughter borne and dead, her ſelf at *Exceſter* very ſicke, dangerous diſeaſes when Queens, Kings, and Kingdoms are ſick, cures muſt and are applying.

AVLICVS.

Aulicus appears again this week, he ſayes firſt, *there is a Proclamation from his Majeſtie to turne all thoſe that are inſenſible out of* Oxford, now the *Inſenſible* are all that ſtay in *Oxford*, th' Iriſh Rebels come over, and they are inſenſible of this; the Papiſts are beſt truſted, and they are inſenſible of this; the Queen rules in *Oxford*, as well as *Exceſter*, and yet they are all inſenſible of this, onely the Earle of *Newport*, the Earle of *Kenoule*, Sir *James Hay*, Serjeant *Glanvill* are come to their ſenſes again, an are come to *London*. The inſenſible to bee turned out of Oxford.

He ſayes *there is Intelligence from* Lancaſhire *of a victorie of P.* Ruperts, *but it is perplexed*: indeed, it is *perplexed* with the inhumanity and cruelty he uſed, *perplexed* with the murder he committed, putting 1200. to the ſword, as it is in red letters in their *Almanack* a *Oxford*; nor is the ſtory more perplexed then *Aulicus*, how to lie to the bloodieſt advantage of that wilde Prince. Oxford Intelligence.

He ſayes *his Majeſtie hath provided Hoſpitalls and Almes-houſes for his maimed Souldiers*; Yes, they have undone moſt places they come in into Hoſpitals, and there they bequeath the poore ignorant Chriſtians they deſtroy; and for their nurſes I know never an Nurſe in *Oxford*, but *Nurſe* I muſt not name, unleſſe they turne all their old Court Baggages into that Vocation, and give them Penſions for their life, now they are paſt ſinning.

He ſayes *the Vice-Chancellour is to take Order, and appoint Miniſters to viſit the ſick, and to read Prayer unto them*; now the truth is, it would make one ſick to be viſited by ſuch Miniſters, we have juſt a Centure of the like, and they muſt read prayers; and that is Common prayers, ſuch as they read in *Elie* houſe, and the Suburbs, and in ſome Counties; you ſee we and the enemy are all one in the Common prayerbook, we both thinke that Collects and Letanies are very wholeſome and Soveraign; and for the *Vice Chancellour*, I think the man is as commendable in this, as many of our pretending reverend Divines in this Reformation, that uſe it as well as he, but the truth is the *Common Prayer* is fitteſt for Hoſpitals, and lame Souldiers, and ſuch Divines, and Vice-Chancellours as go upon crutches, and I hope I ſhall make it fitter for an Hoſpitall yet ere I have done with it, and make it lame as the Souldiers; yea though it be neer Saint *Bartholomews* Hoſpitall. Vicechancellour.

He now jeers Sir William Morton *their high Sheriffe of* Glocesterſhire, *who he ſayes had raiſed great expectation*; indeed well might he raiſe expectation, for he could raiſe but few men in the County; but the concluſion of this noble Knight is this, theſe men forſooke Sir *William*, and Sir *William* forſooke his men, and they all forſook the Caſtle, and our conquering Sir *William* tooke it. Sir William Morton.

He now ſayes to recompence this, they have taken a place called Borſtoll *houſe, of ſuch more conſequence*; yes, if it be of your taking it muſt needs be of more conſequence, but when we tooke it laſt, then it was nothing with you, a roome or two, a Cottage, a thing of no concernment. Borſtol houſe.

He ſayes our forces plundred an *old Gentlewoman*, and he looke in'h Regiſter or in her mouth ſince, and finds her juſt eighty, now ſayes he they took all her wearing apparell, except one poore garment, he cries out onely becauſe they had not the plunder of her themſelves, being ſhe was eighty, much about the years they uſually plunder, but he ſayes we would needs have the old Gentlewomans ſheets, no *Aulicus*, your party got them, and brought them to *Oxford* for thee to write in, for I have not known the to lie in two before, this long time, I ſuppoſe thou haſt plundered the old woman of hers. Old gentlewoman.

He ſayes *there is a thouſand ſoot got into Abington*, and how many do you Quarter in the houſes you fired? He ſayes, *now Oxford is well flankerd on all quarters*, ſtay till Sir *William* Oxford well Flankerd.

Such is the unhappineſſe of this *age*, that notwithſtanding we are upon a Reformation, yet the *Roman Miſts* are ſtill ſo thick that we cannot ſee through the Cloudineſſe of them, nor diſcerne how our adverſaries practiſe to *rend us* into diviſions to put on their own Plot (as I have ſaid before, which is agitated by Jeſuits, and to inſtance a particular of the *Counſells* and deſignes moved by that Party in this Kingdom: I ſhall really, to confirme your Judgements give you notice that upon the 22. of *June* inſtant *Novo Stilo*, the Lord *Goring* privately gave a *viſit* to the *Jeſuits* in Saint *Anthonies* ſtreet in *Paris*, to recompence them, in a ſhew of complement for the many and frequent viſits that the Jeſuits beſtow of him and Maſter *Browne*, another of his Majeſties Agents in the Court of *France*, you may gueſſe what are the influence of ſuch Counſells, which have ſo devided us and ſo neere ruined us; we muſt Counter Plot them, and we need no more but truth, which will never deceive us.

Gotings Plotting.

The expectation where his *Majeſtie* and Sir *Will. Waller* is, is much in the preſent expectation, they were on *Friday* night within three miles of each others, it was expected an ingagement between both parties would follow, the noble Sir *William Waller* would not decline for the publique, but ſome ſay his Majeſtie hath taken ſo many freſh horſes that he will out ride them, I confeſſe I hear that his Majeſtie will be ſtill aforehand, and hath taken ſo many horſes that *Buckinghamſhire* and *Bedfordſhire*, are bound to cal him the *Royall Plunderer*, it is the ſadneſſe of a good ſubject to ſee ſuch a Royall miſcarriage.

His Excellency advanceth well (though not with ſuch wings as ſome within lines of Communication would or at leaſt wayes fancie he might) he muſt ſometimes go out of his way to turne into his way, his carriages would not be paſſed by *Axminſter*, yet out of the way to *Chard* brought him to a better convenience, and is now in a good Road to *Exceſter*.

The Queen is there, the *amiſſe* of the Kingdom hath made ſomewhat (as is conceived) *amiſſe* with her, a daughter borne and dead, her ſelf at *Exceſter* very ſicke, dangerous diſeaſes when Queens, Kings, and Kingdoms are ſick, cures muſt and are applying.

AVLICVS.

Aulicus appears again this week, he ſayes firſt, *there is a Proclamation from his Majeſtie to turne all thoſe that are inſenſible out of* Oxford, now the *Inſenſible* are all that ſtay in *Oxford*, the Irish Rebels come over, and they are inſenſible of this; the Papiſts are beſt truſted, and they are inſenſible of this; the *Queen* rules in *Oxford*, as well as *Exceſter*, and yet they are all inſenſible of this, onely the Earle of *Newport*, the Earle of *Kenoule*, Sir *James Hay*, Serjeant *Glanvill* are come to their ſenſes again, and are come to *London*. The inſenſible to bee turned out of Oxford.

He ſayes *there is Intelligence come from* Lancaſhire *of a victorie of P.* Ruperts, *but it is perplexed*: indeed, it is *perplexed* with the inhumanity and cruelty he uſed, *perplexed* with the murder he committed, putting 1200. to the ſword, as it is in red letters in their *Almanack* a *Oxford*; nor is the ſtory more perplexed then *Aulicus*, how to lie to the bloodieſt advantage of that wilde Prince. Oxford Intelligence.

He ſayes *his Majeſtie hath provided Hoſpitalls and Almes-houſes for his maimed Souldiers*; Yes, they have undone moſt places they come in into Hoſpitals, and there they bequeath the poore ignorant Chriſtians they deſtroy; and for their nurſes I know never an Nurſe in *Oxford*, but *Nurſe* I muſt not name, unleſſe they turne all their old Court Baggages into that Vocation, and give them Penſions for their life, now they are paſt ſinning.

He ſayes *the Vice-Chancellour is to take Order, and appoint Miniſters to viſit the ſick, and to read Prayer unto them*; now the truth is, it would make one ſick to be viſited by ſuch Miniſters, we have juſt a Centure of the like, and they muſt read prayers; and that is Common prayers, ſuch as they read in *Elie* houſe, and the Suburbs, and in ſome Counties; you ſee we and the enemy are all one in the Common prayerbook, we both thinke that Collects and Letanies are very wholeſome and Soveraign; and for the *Vice Chancellour*, I think the man is as commendable in this, as many of our pretending reverend Divines in this Reformation, that uſe it as well as he, but the truth is the *Common Prayer* is fitteſt for Hoſpitals, and lame Souldiers, and ſuch Divines, and Vice-Chancellours as go upon crutches, and I hope I ſhall make it fitter for an Hoſpitall yet ere I have done with it, and make it lame as the Souldiers; yea though it be neer Saint *Bartholmews* Hoſpitall. Vicechancellour.

He now jeers Sir William Morton *their high Sheriffe of* Glocesterſhire, *who he ſayes had raiſed great expectation*; indeed well might he raiſe expectation, for he could raiſe but few men in the County; but the concluſion of this noble Knight is this, theſe men forſooke Sir *William*, and Sir *William* forſooke his men, and they all forſook the Caſtle, and our conquering Sir *William* tooke it. Sir William Morton.

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liam Waller, and Colonell Brown be upon your quarters, and you will be better flankerd then.

Earl of Denbigh.

He ſayes the Earle of Denbigh gathered a great bodie together; yes, and the gallant Earle himſelfe is the ſoule of that body.

Priſoners taken.

He ſayes his Majeſties forces tooke two of his horſe Colours, two Majors, two Captains, and three Lieutenants; I wonder you are ſo reaſonable to ſet down no more, but I ſee you intend to conſider it in the buſineſſe of York in the thouſonds there.

A Sermon at Oxford.

This day (ſayes he) the Faſt was kept in Oxford, by the ſame token thou waſt writing lies all Sermon time; and the Biſhop of Roſſe preached, name him out, he is an Iriſh man; indeed you had need ſet him down in black and white as he preached, for it is ten to one you ſhall ſcarce take him in the Pulpit again in haſt.

He ſaies the Earl Mountroſſe hath poſſeſſed himſelf of all the fortified places the Scots held in England: Stay awhile for Intelligence, and you may heare ſhortly our Brethren are in York, and Newcaſtle, your two fortified places too, York may be troubled with a fit of ſurrendring, as well as Wincnouth.

He railes againſt Sir John Meldrum, and calls him once a Gentleman of his Majeſties privie Chamber: Let me help you to more, the Earl of Kenmoule was Captain of his guard, a ſennight ſince too; pay Sir John his arreares, and then write againſt him.

Now he rails againſt the Earl of Calendar, and the Lord Johnſton, the new gallant and faithfull ſpirits of Scotland, and he ſaies, never was there ſuch monſters of ingratitude: Yes, I can tell you of worſe, Rupert hath been relieved by this Kingdome, which he now murders, The Queen hath been honoured by thoſe Subjects ſhe now deſtroyes.

He ſaies we date Paſſes for lame ſouldiers from the ſiege at Oxford: Jeere not, it is but a miſtake in the day of the moneth, though Oxford be ſo well flankerd.

He ſaies we tell lies of Goſworth, &c. we neere us: I thought you had had no time to ſee any lies of ours, you are ſo buſie in making your own.

He ſaies we ſent our bodies of horſe under Sir Thos Fairfax, and Col: Cromwell, to keep Rupert play, till we did the feat at York: What, is the taking of York in your book but a feat? I hope you ſhall reade it a defeat in ours ere many dayes go about.

But he knowes not what to write of it, Sometimes he ſaies they killed thouſands, and then two thouſands, and then one thouſand five hundred, and then eight, whether it be ſo, or no I determine not: It is a very good courſe you reſolve on, had you writ ſo long ſince you had ſaved many a lie.

He ſaies the Earl of Manchester was ſlain in this daies action, but do not determine it: Men may live again, it is ordinary reviving in theſe times, you were dead laſt weeke but one your ſelfe.

He ſaies now that noble Earl was frighted: Whether was it before he was ſlain, or after? Take your baſe ſcandals home to your Coffin, Lin, and Lincoln, and York can bee witneſſe the honour and gallantry of this Earle.

He ſaies Prince Rupert received Letters from York, that they are in a good condition: Do not belie the Marqueſſe nor his company, charge not a good condition upon theſe that are ſo bad.

He ſaies they write his Highneſſe may go on with his work in Lancaſhire: And what is his Highneſſe work there? Killing, and plundering, and raviſhing, and that is his Highneſſe work whereſoever he comes, and that would be their work in York too, were they not walled in with three Generals.

He reckons that in Leverpoole his Highneſſe took all their Ordnance, Armes, Ammunition: Yes, all but that which was ſent on Ship board, and that was all in the Town, and then you may ſoon reckon what he ſpared.

He ſaies his Majeſtie hath ſent a commodious Port for Ireland: Yea, there is the deſign, becauſe it is ſo convenient for landing Rebels and Popery.

Printed according to Order, for Robert White.

7

A DISCOVRSE IN Derision of the Teaching in Free-Schooles, and other common Schooles.

The Speakers on the One side are;

CUFF-UM,
FLEA-BUTTOCK, } Masters of Free-Schooles.
TVVIG-TAIL,
SIMON DOTTERIL, a Citizen.
HUMPHRY GOOSE, a Country Gentlemen.

And on the other side;

ENTRAPILUS, a Traveller.
THOMAS GRANTHAM, Professor of the Greek and Latin Tongues, in *London.*

July 17 *Simon Dotterill.* 1644.

SAve you Master Grantham, I am glad to see you; but would be gladder if you would not differ so much in your way of Teaching, from these grave Schole-masters: Gentlemen I tell you all the Disputes are hot on both sides, not onely here in London, but elsewhere.

Entrapilus. Sir, there is no hope of reconciliation, so

long as ſo many Knaves and Fooles are intereſted in the cauſe.

Dotteril. Syr, me thinks a little wit might eaſily diſprove Maſter Granthams way.

Eutrapilus. Sir, then you are as fit a man as can be for that purpoſe. I pray you let us hear what you can ſay?

Dotteril. Syr, the way of learning without Booke, is an ancient approved way; I remember thirty years ago, I was whipt thrice for the three degrees of compariſon, becauſe I could not ſay them without Book: once for every degree.

Humphry Gooſe. And I remember when I went to Schoole, the Uſher tyed a knot of a Ruſh for every word I miſt, but I miſt ſo many words, that four or five ruſhes was not enough for me; but then at laſt I got a trick to write my Leſſon on the back ſide of my Booke, and ſo I could ſay it, although my Maſters face was many times towards me.

Eutrapilus. Maſter *Dotteril*, I could prove that Grammer it ſelfe is not the ancient way of learning a Language; much leſſe the learning of it word by word without Book: for the Inventors of the Grammer (you will grant) had the Langnage before the Art. But I will ſpeak more plainly to you. The Grammers which were before *Lilly*, (a) were ſome of them almoſt as big as a Church Bible: (if you take out the *Apocrypha* and *Common-Prayer.*) Now to learne theſe word by word without Book, was a taske paſſing the patience of an Aſſe. Upon this *Eraſmus* concludeth (b) *That Grammer it ſelf is enough to make a man ſpend his whole life in Tortures.*

(a) Viz. Priſcianus, Tertellius, Lanciolotus, Nicolaus Perellus, Georgius Valla, Aldus Romanus, Neſtor Stoa, Eriſtlinus.

(b) Moriæ Encomio.

Dotteril. Good Maſter Cuffum help me out, I am abſolutely gravelled.

Cuffum. I ſay, and will maintain, that learning the Grammer word by word without Booke, is ancient and approved.

Grantham. What is your reaſon Sir?

Cuffum. What is your reaſon to the contrary?

Eutrapilus. Sir, if you ſhould diſpute ſo in an Univerſity, you

you would be hiſſed at: He asketh you to prove what you ſay, and you bid him prove the contrary: The task lyes on you to ſhow a reaſon for what you ſay, but there is no more to be expected from an *Aſs in præſenti*.

Cuffum. Syr, I can prove it hath been practiſed, and commanded in the Preface to the Reader before the Grammer.

Eutrapiles. Sir, you were too much cuffed and dulled at Schoole, to attain to any Logick; There are many things practiſed, that are not lawfull: I therefore deny your ſequell. And in that Preface, there is not a word of saying word by word without Book, and there was never any command by Authority, laid on the common Schooles for it.

Grantham. There is in that Treatiſe much againſt your ſelves; As, that *a Boy ſhould not learn by Rote, but by Reaſon*: But you teach firſt all the Grammer by Rote, and after cuffe the underſtanding of it into him. There are alſo theſe very words, which are much againſt you: *That Boyes ſhould not learn the Rules orderly as they lye in the Syntaxe, but ſome little ſentence ſhould be given them; and if there fall any neceſſary rule of the Syntaxe to be known, then to learn it as the occaſion of the ſentence giveth cauſe that day.* But you teach all word by word without Book; ſo that a Boy is confounded with a multitude of Rules, and knowes nothing diſtinctly, till he hath been cuffed and whipt ſeven yeares together: So that Doctor *Web* ſaith, *they are ſometimes twenty, ſometimes thirty, before they go to the Vniverſity.* I heard ſome ſay of good credit, they knew one who confeſſed he was ſeven and thirty yeares of age, before he came from Schoole to their Colledge.

See the Preface to the Reader before the Grammer.

Twigtail. What way then do you ſay is the beſt?

Grantham. Sir, there are three things moſt neceſſary in a Language; the words, the Stile, the Rules: For the words, a Boy may eaſily learn a thouſand words in ten dayes; that is, a hundred words a day, ſuppoſe a man allow an houre for twenty words, in five houres he learneth a hundred words. I have taught ſome that have learned a hundred words in an houre: but I do not mean after the ſilly ſuſtian way of

learning in the common Schooles, to ſay them all in order by rote like a Parrot, but let him have an hundred Engliſh words, and a hundred Latin words printed or writ, he ſhall tell you Latin for any Engliſh word, and this is the learning I mean.

Eutrapilus. Now Mr. *Twigtail*, and Mr. *Flea-buttock*, you are both bound in conſcience to conceive, that he that underſtands one thouſand, muſt needs underſtand many thouſands more: for many derivatives, compounds, decompounds, are underſtood by the help of the ſimples, and he that underſtands thus much, will underſtand moſt Authors he reads.

Dotteril. But how ſhall they do for a ſtile?

Eutrap. M. *Dotteril* I will ſhow you by an example: There is a certain bird which is a fool, or a fowl, or a fooliſh fowl, called a *Dotteril*, your own name-ſake: this bird if you ſee him thruſt out his right wing, thruſt you out your right arm, if he thruſts out his left leg, thruſt you out yours, if he thruſts out his neck, thruſt you out yours, and thus by imitating of him, you will come ſo neare till you take him up in your hand. And ſo in an Author, where you ſee him place his adjective adverb, or conjunction, do you ſo to: and by this imitation, you will catch the ſtrain of your Author, and come to a great perfection. If you imitate but ſix leaves in a tranſlation, which you may do in two dayes, then you may come near the ſtrain of the Author.

Twig-tail. In this thing I am ſomething ſatisfied.

Flea-buttock. But what do you ſay for the Rules?

Grantham. The rules I would teach thus. Firſt, conſider there are 8. parts of Speech, for the 4. that are undeclined, I bid my Scholler take very little care, becauſe they are not declined, nor varied, nor altered at all, as you find an Adverbe or a Conjunction in one place, ſo you finde him every where. Of the other 4. I bid him take care but of two, that is a Noun, and a Verb, for a Pronoun is much like to a Noun, know one, know the other: a Participle that takes part both of a noun and a Verb: both theſe known, the participle is knowne. So here is but two things chiefly to be cared for, that is a Noun, and a Verb. But be ſure to underſtand the definition of every part of ſpeech, not word by word without Book, but the ſenſe of it.

Eutra-

Entrapilus. How like you this Sir ?

Twig-tail. Truly I finde some ſenſe in this ?

Entrapilus. Truly or elſe I ſhould have thought there had been little ſenſe in you.

Fleabuttock. Maſter Grantham proceed I pray.

Grantham. Next I ſhow him the Speciall Rules, and how he may know by them the Gender of any Noun: If a Noun vary from a ſpeciall Rule, as *virus Pelagus*, I bid him look in the Neuters, and there he ſhall ſee the word excepted, or ſomething that does imply that word: For others that are not under the ſpeciall Rules, let him onely ſay the Gender followes the Sexe, as Males and Offices that belong to men, are Maſculines; Females, Feminines. The ſame courſe I take in *As in præſenti.*

Entrapilus. You have ſpoke to two or three at this preſent, I will aſſure you.

Grantham. Then I ſhow the Concords, and with two or 3. lines annexr, he hath all things neceſſary for the Syntaxe.

Entrapilus. Now Maſter *Cuffum*, you muſt conceive he does not ſhow them the Concords and Engliſh rules as they are in the Grammer, that is before the Genders and the Verbs, as you do, for that is non-ſence: for how can a Boy conceive an Adjective to agree with his Subſtantive in caſe, Gender, and number, when he hath read nothing of the Genders of Nounes, and can ſhow no rule for it.

Grantham. And all this concerning Concords, Nounes, and Verbs, I ſhow in an houre.

Cuffum. Now brother Schol-maſters, mark ſomething to laugh at; he teacheth a thouſand words in ten dayes, a ſtil: in two dayes, Genders of Nounes, Conjugations of Verbs all in an houre, ſo reckon all together, in twelve dayes and an hour, he teaches to underſtand much of the Latin tongue.

Entrapilus. Yes Sir that he doth, to ſuch as you have not too much cuffed, and dulled, and twig'd, and fleaed.

Grantham. M. *Cuffum* you are too hot, if you cannot deny any of theſe ſeveral, then they are true altogether, you grant a man may learn a hundred words a day, that way I ſpeak on?

Cuffum. That I grant.

Grantham. You will grant a man may imitate ſixe leaves in two dayes.

Cuffum. I will not differ with you for that neither.

Grantham. Then you will grant the Rules may be learned as I have expreſſed?

Cuffum. Truly, that I grant too, onely this makes me averſe; although I conceive ſuch a thing poſſible to be done, yet becauſe I never ſaw it done, I am ſomething incredulous.

Grantham. Sir I can bring you ſufficient proofe of this, by Earles, Lords, Colloneis, Knights, and Gentlemen, all Parliament men. Or take a ſhorter or a nearer way of triall. Amongſt many in my Schoole, I have one not above ten yeares of age, who hath been with me but a little above a year; This boy will conſter at the firſt ſight, preſently out of the Greek Teſtament, into good Latin: Perhaps ſome place may ſtagger him for the preſent, but he will ſoon overcome it. Give him a Latin Author, he ſhall conſter a Leafe or two with a little conſideration. And ſo in a Greek Author, Poet, or Orator in any Dialect. I teach him the Greek tongue, becauſe all the termes of Grammer, all the termes of Tropes and Figures in Rhetorick, are Greek: and knowing the Originall, he learnes that in a Moneth, he could not learne without it in two yeares.

Cuffum. Can he Accent a piece of Greek?

Grantham. Any Greek in any Dialect. Still I ſay he may be ſtaggered, but he will recover himſelfe preſently. This Boy underſtood not two lines in his Aceidence when he came to me, and could not ſay one without Book, and now he is skilled in eleven Greek Grammers, and can prove any Greek or Latin verſe that is laid before him, and alſo make.

Eutrapilus. Now let me ſee any Boy that hath gone ten yeares to the Schoole, in any of your common Schooles, do ſo much: And Maſter *Granthams* Schollers playes ten times as much as any common Schooles.

Flea-buttock. Syr, we confeſſe it is very much, and you do well to ſhow a nearer way to Learning. In the Preface

to

to the Reader before the Grammer, there are these words: *If one seeing by triall an easier and readier way then the common sort of Teachers, would say what he hath proved, and of the commodity allowed, that others not knowing the same, might by Experience prove the like.* See the Preface to the Reader, before the Grammer.

Grantham. Sir this way is best for common Schooles, for a Master may teach as well a hundred as one, because the way is by dictating, and runs all upon the tongue; if you have but one fine leading Boy, the rest will come easily on: unlesse they be very careless, and will not give their minds to it at all. As some will not unlesse they be cuffed, and whipped, which is against my way of teaching: for I have not had a Rod in my Schoole, many times for halfe a yeare together.

Eutrapilus. Master *Cuffum*, I will now make it appear to you, you are far out of the way in teaching. Mark *Mountaign* his words in his Essayes. *I must needs acknowledge that the Greek and Latin Tongues, are great Ornaments in a Gentleman, but they are purchased at an over high rate; I will tell you how they may be gotten easier, as it was tried in mine Education: So soon as my tongue was loosed, my Father had Schollers eminent for the Latin tongue, who spoke nothing but Latin to me: so that before I was sixe yeares of age, I spake pure Latin, full as readily as any Boy could his Mother tongue at that Age.* Sir, take another instance. Let a Boy of seven or eight years of age, be sent out of England into France: he shall learn in a twelve moneth and lesse, to write and speak the French tongue readily, although he keep much company with English, reade many English Books, and write many English Letters home; and all this with pleasure and delight: Whereas many thousand who have gone to Free-Schooles two seven yeares, for they keep them longest, and there they rise up early and go to bed late, shed many a teare both before and behinde; and with all this Learning, which hath been put into them like a Glister, they cannot speak at all: and they cannot write a piece of ordinary Latin, unlesse they have Dictionaries and Phrase-Books, and many of them have as much Greek as their Masters, that is little. Lib. 1. cap. 25.

little, or none at all. Whoſoever conſiders this, muſt needs confeſſe we have not the knack of Teaching.

Grantham. The Common-wealth ſuffers much, in this tedious way of Teaching: Very few of our Gentry are Schollers, for at fourteen or fifteen the bloud growes hot, and they ſcorn a yoak, and then they are but punies, in the Common-Schooles, under the loweſt or ſecond Uſher. Now if there be three Maſters in a Schoole, three to one but a Boy miſcarries under one: For they are of ſeverall diſpoſitions, and the Boy cannot agree with all. A Boy will learne under one Maſter, nor under another, ſuppoſe a Boy paſſe the firſt Uſher, and ſecond, yet the higheſt Maſter, with a great deal of paines, care, and diligence, may make him as errand a Dunce, as ever went to the Univerſity, or as ever came from thence.

Eutrapilus. Sir, you may ſee more of this in a Book he writ; Called, *The Brain-Breakers Breaker:* And in his *Animadverſions upon Cambdens Greek Grammer:* To be ſold in *Little Brittain* over againſt the Clocke. Gentlemen, for the preſent, Farewell.

Grantham. Succeſſe to you Gentlemen.

Cuſſ. Twig-tail. Fleab. The like to you. Farewell.

FINIS.

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THE COVRT MERCURIE.

Communicating
The moſt remarkable PASSAGES of the Kings Armie.

From *Saturday* June 22th, to *Tueſday* the 2. of *July*. 1644.

Printed by THO. FORSET.

READERS:

TItles, *I perceive by the wiſdome of the Printers (and they are notable compoſed men) are the Colours that ſets off the Picture, or the Bills that directs us to the Theater; and it is part of my miſery to paſſe mine under their Correction, but there is no remedy for it, ſince I am preſt to it; yet Gentlemen thus much my modeſty promiſeth you, the Title was not made before the matter, but fixt as the property to it, and as I would not have my Booke ſpread it ſelfe like a Burre-leafe, to make a ſhew and then deceive expectation: So my eare ſhall be to pleaſe you with civill Truths, and not to ſtuffe it with unneceſſary misbecomming and undutifull abuſes of Soveraignty, I had rather miſſe the praiſes of the inconſiderate, by illuſtrating his Majeſties vertues in a little roome (then with ſuch ſordid ſoules) to hope a repute or glory, by diſciphering a large Field of his Majeſties*

vices which I wiſh may be ever ſtrangers to him; Therefore Reader expect nothing from me (in reſpect of the Title) but what the ſubject and truth may warrant, and it ſhall be the labour of my time and care to furniſh you with ſuch; ſo much for the Preamble, now to the matter.

From Court, Saturday *the 22 of Iune.*

THe preſent Newes there is, that they have with them as many buſie Spirits as wee have with us, (indeed what place is free from ſuch) that like motes in the Sunne are in continuall motion and will not reſt, till they have brought all into a generall confuſion.

Since the Kings departure (though it is rumoured by ſome He yet is there, I will aſſure you the contrary.) The welbeloved *Engliſh*-Romaniſts (ſo called by the *Spaniſh*-faction) exaſperated by their cut-throat friends the *Iriſh*, have made ſuch a confuſed diſtraction amongſt the blinded Proteſtants there (whom they call converted *Round-heads*) that they are not Maſters of their owne houſes or eſtates, and if any perſon be but ſuſpected to have an honeſt heart to this ſide, (whether they have or no) their ſuſpition is ſufficient proofe, (as they conceit) to warrant it, hee is not onely branded with the Character of a diſloyall Subject, (puniſhment enough) but hath alſo his perſon ſecur'd, his eſtate ſeaz'd on, which is imployed towards the advancement of their Cauſe (the Croſſe,) and for the preventing the departure of ſuch (as well Officers as others) eſpecially ſuch as their deluſive pretences and ſpecious promiſes have corruptly wonne from this party, (the Caſements of whoſe Eyes are now opened to let in light, and they now curſe the darkneſſe of their former errour; witneſſe the Lord of *Bedford*, *Holland*, *Deering*, *Glanvill* and many more,) an exact care is taken not to permit any of them (whoſe Names are entred into the bloody Booke, as they call it) to paſſe the Lynes of Communication, and Maſter or Miſtris where any ſuch perſon or perſons doe lodge (except Officers more generally knowne) are commanded not to ſuffer them to commune one with another without directions from the Governour (that wants government.)

Alſo

Alſo care is taken that all ſuch perſons as ſhall goe from hence to *Oxford*, are to take an Oath to be true to his Majeſty before they are to be admitted into the Towne (but I hope none are ſo deſperately mad) ſince the logicall intent of the ſame, is the killing of his good Proteſtant Subjects.

The Earle of *Dorſet* and ſome other Lords there, have the eye of ſuſpition continually attending them.

There is great ſadneſſe at Court (eſpecially among the Ladies) for a (hurt) that *Jermyn* received lately on his arme from the hand of a private Gentleman.

The very emblem of griefe appeares at Court, for an unfortunate accident that happened to the Prince at the late buſineſſe neere *Dudley* Caſtle, where he received a hurt on his neck, but it is hoped 'tis not dangerous.

They ſay at Court, that my Lord Generall carries a charme about him by reaſon of his happy ſucceſſe at *Weymouth*, to attract the Peoples affections, and I beleeve it, for Religion and the publique Cauſe he carries with him, are more powerfull charmes, then all their Croſſes, Rochets, Holy-water, and Popiſh Reliques.

Some of the Gavaliers boaſting of their valour and fiery reſolution in burning of *Abbington*, were by ſome of the better ſort at Court blamed for it, but they anſwered, why did the Round-head Rogues entertaine *Eſſex* then (a prime Interrogation) and a wiſe reaſon I promiſe you, when all men knew he might compell his entrance, but why did not they prove as valiant in ſtaying to defend it, as in running away to ſuffer it, but they durſt not they ſay, (a pure truth) for he brought two for one, (Udds-nigs) that's foule play indeed.

The Duke of *Yorke* is with the King for certaine, and Prince *Maurice* being not ſo well looked on ſince the late defeat at *Lyme* as before, is joyned with the Lord *Hopton*.

Munday the 24 of June.

THey received a Relation of an overthrow given by *Newcaſtle* to the Earle of *Mancheſter* (a mighty one) ſome forty or fifty men, and a handfull taken Priſoners,) for which they were reſolved to make a night out, and drinke a health to *St. Patricks* ghoſt,

but a ſudden alarum comming, they deſired St. *Patricks* pardon that they could not be drunke at that time, but they promiſed that they would be ſhortly, with the blood of the Proteſtants.

And to keepe their promiſe (the Governour of *Worceſter*) intending to place thoſe *Iriſh* devils in Garriſon there, ſent for a certaine number of them, who no ſooner entred the Towne, but they fired diverſe places in it, the houſes of Godly and Religious men, and endeavoured to put them to the Sword, but by Gods providence was prevented.

In what a deplorable condition are thoſe ignorant Proteſtant forces that formerly in *Ireland* ingaged their Lives, Faith, Friends, and eſtates, againſt thoſe bloody Rebels, and yet now (after ſo much blood-ſhed) and the loſſe of many of their deareſt friends, are now themſelves become the upholders and maintainers of their bloody Cauſe, to the utter ruine both of themſelves and friends.

There appeares much diſcontent at Court by reaſon of the revolt of the *Lancaſhire* forces, whom Prince *Rupert* compelled to walke along with him in his bloody wayes, and now like Ice cak'd by a rigid Froſt, at the ſame appearance (the Lord of *Mancheſter* and thoſe ſunnes in thoſe parts) are diſſolved into teares of Repentance, that ſerve for a deluge to ſinke him (*Rupert* I meane) and the hopes hee has and the ends he would have upon us.

A conſiderable party of Horſe (of the Kings) were in *Hartfordſhire*, who followed the example of Prince *Rupert* and declared what Religion they fought for, by cutting a Miniſter of Gods word to pieces.

Cottington is Male-content, his Stratagems worke not ſo effectually as he wiſhed and hoped they ſhould have done.

Briſtoll is in the ſame ſad condition, and both of them furniſh their Chambers with diſcontent.

The Souldiers are ready to mutiny they murmur miſchiefe againſt *Aſhton*, who uſeth his power too much tyrannically over them.

There is a deſperate Combuſtion betweene the *Welſh* and *Iriſh*, in reſpect of the favour of the King is edified more to the *Iriſh* then to the *Welſh*.

Tueſday

Tueſday the 25 *of* Iune.

THey have great hopes of *Hoptons* ſurrounding Sir *William Waller*, and to effect it the more ſecurely they have what ſtrength they can poſſibly drill out of *Briſtoll* and the Townes thereabouts.

Prince *Maurice* with *Pawlet* and his forces, are neere *Salisbury*, and intends to advance towards *Lyme* (fatall to him) in hopes to meet ſome ſtrength of the Kings.

The Cavaliers have vowed to take *London* ſpeedily (but they have the gates to paſſe before they can enter the City.)

A party of horſe of the Kings plundered *Leyton* of 3000 pounds-worth of goods, beſides Money and Horſes.

They intend to goe to the Lord of *Bedfords* Houſe at *Owborne*, and there to make the beſt benefit of their time in plundering thoſe parts. But now hearing of Collonel *Brown's* comming towards them, feare lent them wings and diverted their intentions.

An Inne-keeper at the red Lyon in *Layton*, a reputed Malignant whoſe Son was at that time abroad in the Kings ſervice, as ſoone as they entred the Towne ſlew him in his Bed. You ſee how much they reſpect the mind of a man unleſſe he be in actuall Rebellion againſt God and their Country, and they that thinke themſelves ſecureſt by agreeing with that party in their hearts, & perhaps declaring it, are more deſperate in their lives and fortunes, ſhould they enter the City (God forbid) then thoſe that openly profeſſe themſelves friends to the Parliament by contribution, and perſonall aſſiſtance.

Wedneſday the 26 *of Iune.*

THis day is not reſpected with them, indeed they cannot Pray, and for Faſting, when did you know a Proteſtant and a Papiſt keepe one profeſt day together.

For one and the selfe-same reason (would you have them pray for Peace that live by Warre and rapine, would you have them desire an end of this difference, that breed the difference: would you have them kill the Pope in their thoughts and preserve him in their hearts) I confesse all good Christians such a miracle may be seene, but 'tis past hope.

It is impossible for them to humble themselves unto God, that Antichrist has accepted to his favour. But no more of this.

A very considerable party of Horse (and it is conceived the King is with them) are at *Hitchin*, which Towne they have sufficiently Plundered, no prey unwelcome to them.

Wareham, being in the possession of the Kings Forces is surrounded by my Lord Generall, &c.

Prince *Maurice*, *Hopton*, and *Pawlet*, are reported to be at *Huntington*, but it is not so, for they are advancing this way, and in their march force all kind of persons from sixteen to sixty to serve them, likewise they take away all Carriers Horses, Market-folkes, and others, to horse such as they compell to goe forth to serve them.

My Lord Generall is resolved to stay in the West, to reduce it into obedience to the Parliament, which they do very well perceive; and therefore they now dare us with committing outrages on the neighbour Counties, but Sir *William Waller* is resolved to force them to a suddaine retreat..

They heare of Forces that are comming out of the associated Counties which are resolved not to returne, till they have taken Oxford, and subverted the Popish Sinod; the which resolution of theirs hath so startled them, that are devising a way how to send to Prince *Maurice*.

Prince *Rupert* is expected to advance towards Oxford in respect of the ill successe he hath had in the North.

Thursday the 27th. of June.

SOme report that the King is gone back to *Oxford*, with the forces he had with him hereabouts, but it is mistaken, for intelligence is given that he is at *Layton-Buzzard*.

Sir *Willian Waller* for certaine is at *Brickhill*, within two miles of the King, and it is expected that something will be done suddenly

ſuddenly, and we have as great cauſe of gladneſſe to heare of it.

'Tis reported likewiſe, that the Country comes in very freely to Sir *William Waller*, making free tender of their Lives, and Services; Which love of the People ſhowne to Sir *William Waller*, the King is exceedingly troubled at, ſince what perſons thereabouts he gaines is rather done by Compulſion, then out of love to his Army, although they pray heartily (with us) to God to protect him in the day of Battaile.

Sir *William Waller* (as is informed) hath taken two Troopes of Horſe from the King, as they were ſcowting about thoſe parts.

Friday the 28 of June.

SOme of his Majeſties forces wearied with their continuall March to eſcape Sir *William Waller*, endeavoured to take up quarter neere Banbury, which Sir *William Waller* hearing, (whoſe forces were not farre diſtant) ſent a party to the ſame place for the ſame intent, which occaſioned ſome ſmall Skirmiſh betweene them, the Cavaliers forced to retreat.

It is rumour'd that Sir *William Waller* has taken Banbury Caſtle but the truth hereof (though much deſired) is not certainely knowne.

Some report the King is returned ſafely to Oxford with his forces, but 'tis not ſo, for his Army is ſo deeply engaged they cannot paſſe but through the mouth of danger.

The Lord *Denbigh* has behaved himſelfe very Nobly (worthy the truſt repoſed in him) in the Northerne parts of Wales having taken the Caſtle of Oſwelſtrey in Shrop-ſhire, with foure hundred Souldiers, and ſtore of Ammunition.

An expreſſe Order iſſued forth the Houſe to the Lieutenant of the Ordnance, to deliver out of the ſtore of London 300 Barrels of Powder, fifteene Tunne of Match, and as many tunne of Bullets, with one thouſand round Shot to be ſent to the Northerne Armies.

There are certaine Lords at Oxford (whoſe Names ſhall be clouded, now to appeare in their proper ſplendor here) ſuddenly intend to be where their hearts are already (with us.)

Saturday the 29 of June.

LIttle Newes this day has been from thence, wee hoped by the Mornings conception, to have had a bigge Afternoone, for the firſt Preſent ſhe ſent us was the Lord of *Leiceſter* and Mr. *Bagſhaw*, who were brought in and Mr. *Bagſhaw* Committed to the Kings-Bench.

Some talke that my Lord Generall has left *Wareham*, and is ſet downe before *Bridge-water*, others ſay hee has taken Wareham by force, others report it was freely ſurrendred him, and now he is before *Exeter*, but the diverſity of theſe relations are no powerfull Truth; but it is Credibly conceived he is before *Exeter*.

Something has been done by Sir *William Waller* and the Kings forces, but the manner and truth wee are not yet informed, onely the King (I beleeve with loſſe) is gone towards Leiceſterſhire.

Munday

Munday the 1. of July.

OVr Intelligence reflects on Sir *William Waller* (now in Action) by which I perceive the information I received on Saturday concerning the Kings advancing towards Leicestershire is not consonant to Truth (though the Gentleman from whom I had it seldome failes) for himselfe hath this day contradicted it, by relating (and by me imparted to you) that the King's Army in those parts are still in the same engaged condition as formerly, and Parties on either side have encountred, in which (as is certainly reported) the Lord *Willmot* and foureteene Commanders were taken, but *Wilmot* escaped.

Sir *William Brereton* and Sir *Thomas Middleton*, are upon raising a good force out of Cheshire to assist our Northerne Army against the Insolent, violent, and bloody Attempts of the Sanguine Prince; and are to follow the Earle of *Denbigh*, if not gone already into Lancashire.

A remarkable Passage at *Willington* neare *Taunton* (wherein the brave resolution of the Townesmen appeared) was this day informed us. A Regiment of the Queenes having beene there before at their accustomed prey (Plunder) and leaving the Towne (satiated with its spoyle) and determining to appeare in the like manner speedily after, provided themselves accordingly, which the Towne [sensible of their former Outrages] hearing of [to prevent there entrance] got foure Bulls with Mastiffe Dogs, which they placed at foure severall Streets and passages of the Towne, [the onely places they expected the Cavaliers to enter at] and slitting the Bulls noses throwing Salt in the same, the Bulls were more desperately enraged then the Dogs could possible make them, by which the Cavaliers were kept out till my Lord Generall sent them relieffe; This is true how ever the appearance may seeme.

Letters came from Sir *William Waller*, but the Contents this day [yet] is not knowne.

Another from the Lord Generall, which is not yet divulged.

I have certaine Intelligence, that the Lord *Hopton* is in Exeter [I hope hee be, that wee may see his Lordship heere] and that my Lord Generall is before it.

Thus much for Truth I informe thee.

This is Licensed according to Order.

Numb. 61.

THE KINGDOMES VVeekly Intelligencer:

SENT ABROAD

To prevent miſ-information.

From *Tueſday* the 18. of *June*, to *Tueſday* the 2. of *July* 1644.

THe Noble and valiant Earle of *Denbigh* challengeth the firſt place of this weekes Intelligence; who in purſuance of ſome directions, advanced into *Shropſhire*, with directions to have intercepted 40. Barrels of Powder going to Prince *Rupert*, but failing thereof (it being conveyed into *Wales*) thought it not amiſſe (being ſo neer ſome of the enemies quarters) to make ſome attempt upon them, yet ſo as he was reſolved not to looſe above four and twenty hours time, and accordingly, with the advice of Coll. *Mitton*, marched towards *Dreiton*, where he left a good reſerve, and then advanced towards *Oſwelſtree*, and with the Forlone hope conſiſting of 200. foot, and two Troops of horſe faced the Town on the 23. of *June* at two of the clocke in the afternoone, and within an houres ſpace, made his approaches ſo neer, and plaid ſo fiercely upon the enemy with ſmall and great ſhot, that a breach was made in the wall of the Town, and with the loſſe of one man, and three wounded, entred the Town, the enemy fled into the Church, and then to the Caſtle, who were ſo cloſely purſued, and the Pyoneers ſo nimble in undermining (wherein Colonell *Mitton* ſhewed much dexterity) that they condiſcended to ſurrender the Caſtle to have Quarter for their lives, which accordingly was done; and theſe priſoners and Armes following were taken.

Lieutenant Colonell Bledwyn.
Sir Abraham Shipman the Governour then at Shrewbury.
Captain John Farrell.
Captain John Madrin.
Captain Thomas Tenet.
Captain Phillipellis.
Lieutenant Nicholas Hooke.
Lieutenant Richard Franklin.
Lieutenant Thomas Davenport.
Cornet Leonard.
Cornet Lloyd.
Enſigne Morgan.
Enſigne Wyn.
Commiſſary Richard Edwards.
Nine Serjeants.
Nine Corporals.
One Drum Major.

There were alſo taken beſides, 305. Common Souldiers, and eighty Townſmen in Armes, 200. Muskets; 100. Pikes and other weapons, five and fourty Barrels of powder.

Of what great advantage this is to thoſe parts, eſpecially to the reducing of Northwales, thoſe that know that Country can well informe you: But this Noble Earle reſted not here, this ſucceſſe made him not forget the directions of the Committee of both Kingdoms to looſe no time, but to haſten to the reliefe of *Lancaſhire*; the next day ordered his march for *Lancaſhire*, leaving that ever honoured Gentleman Colonell *Mitton* Governour of that *fine* Town and Caſtle.

Since my laſt, my Lord *Generall* hath ſent up Letters to the Parliament, found at *Aſhburnhams* lodging at *VVeymouth* (I meane Colonell *VVilliam Aſhburnham*, that deſerted *VVeymouth*, before my Lord Generall had ſo much as ſent a Summons) one Letter was from his Majeſtie ſigned *Charles Rex* to that Colonell to raiſe moneys in a liberall manner on the Inhabitants in the Weſt, to maintaine forces againſt the Rebels (meaning the Parliament and their forces)

It would give much ſatisfaction if *C. R.* were put to a Letter or other writing, declaring that the bloody *Iriſh Rebells*, that have murdered neere upon two hundred thouſand *Proteſtants*; and alledge they had the great *Seale* to warrant their proceedings, are *Rebells* for ſaying and doing ſo, and till this be done ſucceſſe cannot be expected to attend their proceedings at *Oxford*, *vide* Doctor *Jones* Booke, for the witneſſes examined upon oath, that do affirme, they had the great Seale to Cauſe the Inſurrection there: and *Quare*, whether they are not ſince called Subjects, and what Iriſh Rebells have had of late further titles of honours conferred upon them: I leave this to the *Declaration* that is to come out, by more knowing hands.

The other Letter there found was from my old friend Secretary *Nicho-*

las,

tu, dated at *Oxford* the 12. of *May*, to the ſaid Colonell *Aſhburnham*, giving the Colonell thanks, for the execution he had cauſed to be done on one of the *Rebells Spies* (what *Nicholas* wilt thou never leave thy foul-mouthed language againſt the Parliament, but perſevere in calling them Rebells) and told him further that he was ſorry he did not uſe more ſeveverity to him, to make him confeſſe more, and adviſed the Colonell to have a ſpeciall care of *Weymouth* (the beſt harbour and Magazeene the King had in the Weſt) for that *Waller* was deſigned that way, though with an inconſiderable number of *Rebels*; and if he did advance that way, the King would him follow cloſe by the heeles, for that his Majeſtie had an Army of 10000. horſe and foot what ever others ſay, for Sir *Thomas Lunsford* that day told him ſo, who came then from his Majeſties Army (which was then at the ſtrongeſt, being joyned with *Hopton*, and about *Abbington*, what is it now then? conſidering how they have been ſcattered and purſued by *Sir William Waller*.

He further writ that there was great diviſions amongſt the *Rebels*, according to the *deſigne* which muſt be his Majeſties greateſt advantage to worke upon, for encompaſsing his ends: He tels you alſo of *Minions*, and Dame *Aubegnies*, and *Lenoxes*, and *Barnards*, and that ſome are too wiſe; I am ſure Maſter Secretary you are none of thoſe, for then you would not call the Parliament Rebels in a private Letter.

There is another thing obſervable, in a Paper Meſſage, ſent to his Excellency; who well diſcerned the drift of the parties that ſent it, and therefore wholy left it to the Parliament, without whoſe advice, he would not give any anſwer thereunto: The Meſſage was from Mr. *James Hanham* (if the naming of him be not enough to open the miſtery) then take notice of his breeding in *Spaine*, and of the Relation he hath to my Lord *Don Cottington*: *Toby Matthew*, and this Gentleman, were known friends at Court to our greateſt enemies (now in Armes) many years before the Parliament begun: His Meſſage was to expreſſe his great joy of his Excellencies comming into the Weſterne parts (beleeve him that will) that divers Lords and Gentlemen were ready to raiſe the Country and come into his aſſiſtance, if they knew what his Excellency did expect from them. But what his Excellency hath done ſince, and how far he hath advanced you ſhall know anon: In the mean time take ſome obſervations of paſſages in the Weſt; as firſt, that the enemy loſt at *Lime*, 132. Commanders, and Gentlemen of quality (beſides Common Souldiers) as ſome of their Commanders, and Gentlemen engaged in that ſervice, and ſince come into the Parliament have confeſſed: The Earle of *Newport*, who hath deſerted her Majeſtie at *Exceſter*, and come into the Parliament, informes

formes that helpe the City of *Exceſter* is abſolutely for the Parliament; that if her Majeſtie ſtay there, till my Lord *Generall* advance thither, the whole City, will go neer to preſent her Majeſtie to the Earle of *Eſſex*, to guard her to the Parliament.

That the Earle of *Bath*, and other Lords, and Gentlemen of quality, are deſirous to deſert his Majeſties ſervice, and go beyond ſeas, giving this reaſon for it; for that they now ſee, the Spaniſh faction and Counſells about his Majeſtie drive on a deſigne, which they never intended: And theſe Lords and Gentlemen have expreſſed to ſeverall that are come in to my Lord *Generall* that if they could make their Peace with the Parliament, by delivering over *Cottington*, *Briſtoll*, *Digby*, *Jermin*, *Percy*, and the Iriſh *Rebels* about his Ma: to the Juſtice of the Parliament they would turn to the Parl. (and with them they hope the Weſt) and effect the buſineſſe.

That at *Dorcheſter*, the Country twenty miles diſtant being ſummoned to appear there came in freely, and it being offered unto them, that all ſuch as deſired a paſſe to go to *Exceſter*, *Briſtoll*, or other part of the Kings Quarters, ſhould go together to the left hand, and ſhould have their paſſes, and all thoſe that were convinced in their conſcience of the juſtneſſe of the Cauſe of the Parliament ſide, ſhould hold up their hands, and accordingly every one did ſo; (not one deſiring a Paſſe to go to the enemy) this was immediatly upon the ending of a Sermon, preached there by Maſter *Peters*; who hath done great ſervice both by Sea, and land to the Kingdome.

About 300. of the Country are come into *Weymouth*, and are there liſted, for the defence of that place; the brutiſh and beaſtly French of the Queenes Regiment demeaſned themſelves with ſuch impiety, that the Malignant Townſmen of *Sherborne* riſe againſt them; and beat them out, having abuſed many women there, and not ſatisfied (I am loath to name it) fulfilled their luſt on ſome of the bitches in the Town, as the Inhabitants there affirme.

And Mr. *Secretary Nicholas* in his Letter to Colonell *Aſhburnham*, did much complaine of the inſufferable abuſes committed by the Queens Regiment, which he ſaid were much to the diſhonour of his Majeſty, if they were any longer permitted.

Saturday June 29. The Earle of *Leiceſter* a Member of the Houſe of *Peeres*, and Mr. *Bagſhaw* a Member of the Houſe of *Commons* (who confeſſeth he ſate in the Parliament of *Oxford*, which declared this Parliament *Traitors*) came both to Town; the houſe of *Commons* called Maſter *Bagſhaw* to the Barre, and kneeling on both *knees*, pronounced ſentence againſt him, to be committed to priſon for high *Treaſon*: the priſon

ſon that was made choice of, was the Kings Bench in Southwarke, that the people of that Burrough might ſee, that ſo long as the *Burgeſſe* they had ſent to the Parliament did diſcharge his duty to *God and his Country*, and to them that ſent him, they honoured him with his ſitting in Parliament; but deſerting that truſt & turning to the enemy, they have ſent him to the place from whence he came, and from thence, &c. This buſines was no ſooner diſpatched in the houſe of Commons, but they ſent up a Meſſage to the houſe of *Peeres* to quicken them, to paſſe the Ordinance that hath long remained with their Lordſhips, that no perſon Member of either houſe, that hath deſerted the Parliament, and adhered to the enemy ſhould ever ſit in Parliament more, which the Lords the ſame day agreed unto, and paſſed the Ordinance accordingly.

I told you the laſt week, that *Rupert* was quartered with part of his forces at *Clitheroe*, and ſome at *Blackborne*: This week Letters from the Leaguer before York, do confirme it, and do further inform that part of his forces are come into *Craven* in Yorkſhire, but were bravely entertained at their comming in by Major *Shutleworth*, who ſlew 40. of them, and took 60. priſoners, beſides Sir *Simon Fanſhaw*, Lieutenant Col: to Sir *Charles Lucas*, and brother to Sir *Thomas Fanſhaw*, Major *Carre*, and other Commanders.

Sir *Simon Fanſhaw*, and other the priſoners confeſſe that P. *Rupert* is not much increaſed in ſtrength by his being in Lancaſhire (his loſſes conſidered) for that he loſt 600. men at *Bolton*, 500. at *Leverpoole*, beſide the wounded: That the Country at firſt did come in faſt to the Earl of Darby, but as opportunity was offered, they run away: They inform further, that the greateſt advantage the Prince got there, was in horſe, having driven the horſes of the Country before him, to the number of 3000. and compelled Country men, and boyes to follow the Army with them, to the end to mount their Muſquetiers, as there ſhould be occaſion.

The Letters dated at the Leaguer before York, 28. Junii, further inform, that the neereſt quarter *Rupert* hath unto York, is at Skipton in Craven, 30. miles from York: That the three Generals have commanded their forces both of horſe and foot to retreate from Bolton, Oatley, &c. towards York, to the end *Rupert* may be encouraged to draw nearer York, that he may be cut off from a retreate by the E. of *Denbigh*, and Sir *John Meldrum*, and that his whole force imployed in this ſervice, may be ſo engaged, as either to win the Field, or loſe it wholly.

It is further certified, that *Rupert* relies much on the ayd & aſſiſtance of the Weſtmerland, and Cumberland forces, who are drawing to the borders of Yorkſhire, through the compulſion of Sir *Philip Muſgrave*, and other the Commiſſioners of Array, but the common ſouldiers, and many of the Gentry that are with them declare, they will not march out of their own Country, whereupon Sir *Philip Muſgrave* at a publique meeting ſaid: *Gentlemen*, Are you ſuch fooles as to thinke your perſons and eſtates ſhall not be ſeiſed upon by the pretended Parliament, and the Rebels that adhere to them, though you ſtand as Neuters; had you not better ſave all, and ſave your King, by giving this ſeaſonable help to Prince Rupert to relieve York, and then you may be ſure to be protected by the Kings forces, againſt all violence whatſoever: The people not being well contented with this Speech, but ſhewing a murmuring amongſt themſelves, another Weſtmerland Knight ſtept up, who (as one Letter ſaith) was Sir *Hen: Bellingham*, and ſpake thus, *Gent.* I cannot agree with my brother in his opinion, concerning your invading a neighbour County, that hath not yet invaded us: And I perceive it ſuits well with your mindes to continue within your owne limits; and I cannot blame you, conſidering what additionall ſtrength is lately entred England, out of Scotland, under the conduct of the Earl of Calendar, who on Wedneſday

laſt

laſt marched over Tweed at Kelſey, and advances this way, up to Tindale, its true, he pretends for Newcaſtle, but you know in 2. dayes march he may invade this County, and find us naked of defence, if we engage our ſelves to raiſe the ſiege at York, and therefore for my part, I would not have us to go out of the County, nor fight againſt the Parliument: Then Sir *George Dalſton* a *Cumberland* Knight, ſtept up and ſaid, by my troth Sirs, I thinke it is good to play *Newters*, as things now ſtand, for I love to ſpeake plainly, the King is fled from *Oxford*, and the Earle of *Eſſex* hath recovered much of the Weſt; the Earle of *Calander* is behinde us; Sir *John Meldrum* is at Mancheſter with 3000. men before us, and both may invade us if we gang on; for my part, if the Parliament prevaile, and we be eſteemed offenders by them, they'l deale favourably with us if we ſtir not, whereas if we now engage to relieve York, and faile of the deſigne; we and all we have are loſt: and therefore my opinion is to ſtay at home. Then Sir *John Lowther* ſaid, theſe two Gentlemen that ſpoke laſt, might have been ſilent, unleſſe their ſpeeches had tended more for his Majeſties ſervice: It had been more fit for a private debate at a Councell of War, then in ſo publique an Audience, but ſince it is ſo; let theſe Gentlemen feed themſelves with hopes to make their Peace with the Parliament: all you that ſeeke the peace of the King, and your own happines, and will be protected by him, will go along with us, that are reſolved to engage our ſelves in this deſigne: Sir *William Dalſton* ſpoke after him, and ſaid I like well to ſtay at home, and in my opinion my father hath ſpoken wiſely, to that purpoſe, its good ſleeping in a whole skin.

There were divers others at this meeting, being June 21. and when the Meſſenger came away, he left them divided in opinion.

If Prince *Rupert* advance without the aſſiſtance of thoſe Counties, he cannot in humane probability raiſe that ſiege, conſidering what a ſtrength he hath to encounter withall, under the command of Sir *Tho: Fairfax*, Major Gen. *Leſly*, and Lieutenant Gen. *Crumwell*, who lie 12. miles from *York*, with 12000. horſe and foote: and if the Prince advance, they can ſpare more Regiments, which they are reſolved to do, though they draw off their ſouldiers to a further diſtance in the ſiege, becauſe in the routing of *Rupert* (as things now ſtand) the Kingdome depends, for if *Rupert* be overthrowne, the only conſiderable Army his Majeſty hath, is defeated.

It is further certified from *York* by Letters, and alſo averred by thoſe that came thence on *Wednesday* laſt; that the E. of *Mancheſter* ſtill makes good his breach, and that the City is much ſtraitned for all manner of proviſions (except Corne, and

and Malt) all their fresh meat being spent, Salt at 5.s. a pecke, salt butter at two shillings the pound, and that many Townsmen and Souldiers, and women and children die daily, that the fouldiers never go to bed, by reason of the *Alarmes* they have every night, and that the streets are so nasty, and full of filth, that there is a great infection in the Town, on the 24. of this moneth seven persons, five men, and two women Inhabitants of good repute and esteem, informe as aforesaid, and further that if P. *Rupert* come not within ten dayes from that time, it is impossible to keep the Townsmen and Souldiers from mutiny, they are so discontented with the delay of P. *Rupert* coming, who hath received a command from his Majestie, that nothing but impossibilities should hinder him, from raising the siege at *York*, for that the Kingdom depended upon it.

The 28. of this monet a party of horse sallied out of Pomfreit, surprized our Scouts, and marched to Cawood Castle, entered the Court gate as friends, and had not the prisoners in the Castle cried out for the King, and endeavoured to get Armes to joyne with them they had surprised the Castle and all in it: But the guard stood to it, killed many, and beat the rest away, yet in that confusion, Colonell *Middleton*, a Papist, and Major *Holiby*, and some Common Souldiers escaped, but Sir *Francis Wortley*, Sir *John Girlington*, Sir *Cecill Trafford*, and the rest of the prisoners were kept safe though they had got Armes and endeavoured an escape, but now they are in fetters for it.

My Lord Generall marched from Chard within 22. miles of Exceter, on Saturday last June the 29. towards her Majesty, who sent a Message to his Excellency for a safe conduct to the Bath for the recovery of her health; His Excellency returned answer that her Majesty should command a safe conduct to London, where he conceived best means to be had for her recovery, and would hasten his march to that end to wait upon her Majestie. At Willington in the West, the Queens la civicus French Regiment had so provoked the Inhabitants there, that they had laid an Ambuscado for them, by a Bul baiting if they had come again to defile the Inhabitants of that Town, as they threatned: but I reserve it for the next: as also the story of a man that sat on a wooll sack on Sr *Maries* Tower in York, that was blowen up into the ayre, and fell into the Earle of Manchesters Quarters, and is yet alive and well.

I know there is much expectation that something be said of his Majestie and Sir *W. Waller*, whose forces have been by parties engaged these three daies, as opportunity apted either side, Sir *William* hath taken a passage of a Bridge, which impeds the Kings retreat in any safety to Oxford with his Army, and at this place the dispute growes hottest: Sir *William* yet keeps it, and could the other side obtaine it, they would quickly disengage, and are already weary of what they have engaged themselves in, if they could but handsomely get off, which is believed they without much losse cannot, for Major Gen. *Brown*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig* and Colonell *Norton* would be with Sir *William* as last night, and then the enemy could not but be both more freshly and deepher ingaged, the event whereof you will hear suddenly.

Printed according to Order, for Robert White.

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Britannicæ Virtutis Imago.

OR,

THE EFFIGIES OF TRVE FORTITVDE,

Expreſſed to the life, in the famous actions of that incomparable Knight,

Major Generall SMITH,

Who is here repreſented, *June*, 1644.

OXFORD,
Printed by *Henry Hall*, in the Yeare 1644.

THE DEDICATION.

TO the Immortall memory of that ever famous Gentleman, The Glory of our Engliſh Nation, Sir *John Smith* Knight, Major Generall of his Majeſties Weſterne Army, under Command of the Right Honourable the Lord *Hopton*:

His ſervant and admirer

conſecrateth this,

E. W.



Britanicæ Virtutis Imago,
OR,
The Life and Death of renowned, Sir JOHN SMITH.

WHen the Reigne of *James* the prudent Monarch of *Great Britaines* united Empire drew neare a period: at *Skilts* in *Warwick-ſhire*, (a Mannour of the *Sheldons*) was borne this ornament of our Nation I am now to treat of; by a choyce and ſelected branch, of the ſtout and valiant *Markhams* of *Nottingham-ſhire*, married to Sir *Francis Smith* of *Wotton Wavers* in the County of *Warwicke*: Heire to the Noble and ancient Family of the *Caringtons*; famous for Sir *Michael Carington*, Standard-bearer to our firſt *Richard* in the *Holy-land*, and renowned for the loyalty of *John Carington* Eſquire, to his Lord and Soveraigne King *Richard* the ſecond, upon whoſe depoſall he was forct to flie into *Italy*, where he grew famous for many brave and valiant acts: yet at his returne he chang'd his name to *Smith*, which all his Poſterity have ever ſince retained, untill now it hath pleaſed His royall Majeſty, to renew the ancient name of this Family in the preſent Lord *Carington*, Sir *John Smith's* eldeſt brother. The *Eſcucheon* of this Family is of ſo neere a ſemblance to the badge of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, that in my judge-

ment it convinces it ſelfe to be a kingly guift, beſtowed upon them for ſome notable ſervice atchieved by their Predeceſſours: The particular definition whereof I leave to the Heralds as a ſtar viſible onely in their *Horizon*. But I am ſure I doe not remember to have ſeene any Family in *England*, excepting this, to beare in a white Field a red Croſſe in a forme ſo genuine to that we call St *Georges*.

This Sir *Francis Smith* was a Gentleman of that integrity of life and noble nature, that to this day his memory is ſtill precious amongſt thoſe that knew him. He was remarkeably happy for many worthy children and faire poſſeſſions, but eſpecially in his Conſort, a Lady of thoſe excellencies, that we could expect no ordinary peice of nature from her; being alſo eminent for her hoſpitality and charity, but eſpecially for her loyalty ſo firme and ſpotleſſe, that it is almoſt incredible and beyond example what that noble Lady hath ſuſtained when for a ſmall contribution ſhe might have ſecured her ſelfe; ſhe rather chooſing with a magnanimous patience to undergo the loſſe of all, then in the leaſt manner to comply with the Kings enemies.

Before the birth of the *Heroike child*, this vertuous Lady and her Knight fell dangerouſly ſicke, as if they had both contributed their utmoſt powers to his perfections. Nature perceives him to fit her expectation, and therefore impatient we ſhould longer expect her bounty, expoſes him to the world at leaſt a moneth before the uſuall time. It may be ſhe deſired that even in his birth, the child ſhould make the firſt triall of his valour, and beyond example there expreſſe his magnanimity, and contempt of danger.

I ſhall not need to aske pardon if I paſſe by his infancy, as affording nothing but meerly ſhadowes of a great ſpirit, incloſed in that little casket, in a ſleepe (as it were) expecting his maturity. His infancy paſt he is brought from his nurſe, and committed to his mothers care, where his education could not chooſe but be excellent; for without vanity I ſpeake it, this Kingdome affords not a Lady, that hath given more happy teſtimonies of her skill in that kind. In the time of his childhood, his ſweet and tractable nature made him ſingularly beloved in his Fathers Family, and to this day many of them much pleaſe themſelves with his pretty policies, and witty ſtratagems to compaſſe his ſports, and deceive ſuch as held a hand over him.

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He is no ſooner capable of learning, but he is ſent to a Kinſmans houſe, amongſt other young Gentlemen allied unto him to lay the foundation of a Scholler: where notwithſtanding his active diſpoſition, he profited ſo well, that after ſome reaſonable preparative his Parents deſirous to make him more accompliſht, ſent him to ſtudy and travell beyond Seas: where he made ſo good a progreſſe both in the Greeke and Latine tongues, that in one of the prime Claſſes, he obtained the Emperours Chayre, a Seat of eminent difference from all the reſt, and due to him that is judged to excell his fellowes.

But nevertheleſſe he is impatient of this manner of life, his noble mind aſpires to greater actions, and will no longer be contain'd in this courſe. The Almighty begins to call him to that ſtate wherein he is pleaſed to imploy him. Who will not be ſatisfied untill he be ſent for *England*, where arriving contrary to his friends deſire, he finds a welcome accompanied with rebukes; which he long patiently ſuſtained without any effect: at laſt, meerly to comply with them againſt his owne nature, he takes his courſe the ſecond time for the *Low Countries*; where he takes his books in hand, and againe falls to his ſtudy: not without dayly conflicts with himſelfe in overcoming his contrary inclination. But there he demonſtrated his vertue, in conquering himſelfe to ſatisfie the deſires of his Parents and friends, declaring he knew as well how to maſter his paſſions, as his bodily enemies. Which in a thing of that nature, ſo to overcome himſelfe, conſidering his age and ſpirit, was very remarkeable.

In the place where now he reſides, there happens a Commotion in ſome ſort reſembling ours: where the dreggs and rude multitude of the City bandy againſt their Prince, Magiſtrates, and Nobility, in ſuch ſort that nothing but ruine ſeemed to hang over the heads of the latter. The Rebells were ſo numerous and violent, growing dayly ſo inſolent, that at laſt the beſt ſort were compell'd to endeavour their owne defence in the beſt manner they could: for divers of their perſons and houſes were violated and plundered, the ſame being imminent to the reſt: wherefore they arme themſelves as they can, and reſolve to reſiſt if any one ſhall hereafter be aſſaulted. This quickly produced a Skirmiſh; wherein the multitude prevayling, our *gallant young Student* heares of it, and

can

can no longer containe himſelfe, but goes out of the *Colledge* where he reſided, takes armes from the next he meets in the ſtreet, and joynes to the weaker ſide; putting himſelfe into the head of them, where with his brave carriage he doth ſo encourage, and revive them, as if his valour had an influence upon each in particular. Wherefore they give a freſh aſſault to the enemy, and that with ſo good ſucceſſe, that they foyled their vanquiſhers: who were ſoone daunted when they ſaw our *young Champion* had laid their *Mechanicke Leader* upon the ground, and ſtill beſtowed his ſtrokes ſo freely on all that he came neere, that the reſt judged it better to give ground, then to come in reach of his ſword.

Their retreat was ſo ſudden and confuſed, that much of their Plunder was left behind, where our noble youth happens upon a Cloak-bag full of Silver plate. His eminent ſervice this day procured him ſpeciall thanks from the chiefe of the City, but the other ſide were ſo enraged againſt him, that they vowed to hew him in pieces; and to that end laid wait every way to compaſſe him. By this time an Army comes to puniſh the offenders, and ſettle the City; our young Souldier glad of this opportunity ſeconded with the neceſſity of avoiding the peoples fury, bids his books farewell, layes by his gowne, and takes his ſword in hand, repairing to the Campe; where he puts himſelfe into a poſture fit for a gentleman of his birth under an expert Commander: and behav'd himſelfe with that gallantry, as purchaſed him love, and admiration from all that knew him.

You have ſeene his Introduction to Martiall attempts was both fortunate and gallant, where you may obſerve, that this *noble ſpirit* in his firſt enterprize, ſhew'd a naturall averſion from baſe, and vulgar actions: and that he diſdained to accommodate himſelfe to Popular humors; chooſing rather to ſuffer ſhipwrack with the nobler ſort, then to ſtand idle and let them periſh, if his endeavour might the leaſt conduce to their ſafety.

It was not long after he had entred the ſchoole of *Mars*, but he had occaſion given to make tryall of his wit, as well as fortitude; for a Party of their Horſe attempted to beat up the enemies Quarters, and at the firſt entered the place; where out of inconſideration and deſire of Pillage, they made a way to their owne ruine, by diſmounting; for the enemy finding a way to gather a head and

call

call more aid, came and ſurprized the diſperſed Souldiers. Our *Heroike youth* had ſtill diſcreetly kept on Horſebacke, and prevailed with ſome few more to doe the like, which had all eſcaped had not the enemy ſtrangely circumvented them. They ſeeing no hope of eſcape left, reſolved to force a way by meere ſtrength. In this attempt, he leading the way was knockt off his Horſe with ſuch a violence, that quite aſtoniſhed him; the enemy gave him for dead, he falling proſtrate on his face. Wherefore they buſied themſelves in ſearching for and purſuing the reſt, making ſure of him at leiſure. At laſt recovering his ſpirits and memory, conſidering how he came there, he lyes ſtill for a while, till hearing the ſtreets quiet, he lookt about very circumſpectly, and diſcovers all cleare with a Stable open over againſt him furniſhed with Horſes ready ſadled: He takes hold of the oportunity and goes in, chooſes one of the prime Horſes, commanding the boy there, not to dare to ſpeake till he was gone, as he tendred his owne life. After he is out he puts ſpurs to his Horſe, which with ſuch celerity conveyed him thence, that he eſcapt his purſuers, and unhurt paſt by divers that met him. When he arrived at the Army, divers of the chiefe Commanders were full of joy to ſee him, whoſe fall but even now they did generally there condole. The Generall himſelfe did praiſe his ingenuity and courage, giving him one hundred pieces for the Horſe he brought away.

This put a ſecond vigour into him, both encouraging and enabling him to continue in his preſent courſes; his ſucceſſe doth animate him, and his reward gives life to his encouragement. He continues with ſingular reſpect and love amongſt the Commanders, and Souldiers: moſt of the later propoſing him as an example to themſelves. At laſt ſome accident or other happens which calls him into *England*, his departure is very unpleaſing to that Army, nor can he get away without engagement of his honour for his ſpeedy returne. By this time his fame is growne eminent, and his friends began to reliſh his courſes, which makes his welcome of a better temper then before; for now they did honour thoſe excellencies in him which ſo proſperouſly began to flouriſh.

He had ſcarce taken time to viſit his friends after his arrivall, but his promiſe calls him backe, and thither alſo he is already by Letter invited: the imployment was ſo gratefull unto him, that to

can no longer containe himſelfe, but goes out of the *Colledge* where he reſided, takes armes from the next he meets in the ſtreet, and joynes to the weaker ſide ; putting himſelfe into the head of them, where with his brave carriage he doth ſo encourage, and revive them, as if his valour had an influence upon each in particular. Wherefore they give a freſh aſſault to the enemy, and that with ſo good ſucceſſe, that they foyled their vanquiſhers : who were ſoone daunted when they ſaw our *young Champion* had laid their *Mechanicke Leader* upon the ground, and ſtill beſtowed his ſtrokes ſo freely on all that he came neere, that the reſt judged it better to give ground, then to come in reach of his ſword.

Their retreat was ſo ſudden and confuſed, that much of their Plunder was left behind, where our noble youth happens upon a Cloak-bag full of Silver plate. His eminent ſervice this day procured him ſpeciall thanks from the chiefe of the City, but the other ſide were ſo enraged againſt him, that they vowed to hew him in pieces ; and to that end laid wait every way to compaſſe him. By this time an Army comes to puniſh the offenders, and ſettle the City ; our young Souldier glad of this opportunity ſeconded with the neceſſity of avoiding the peoples fury, bids his books farewell, layes by his gowne, and takes his ſword in hand, repairing to the Campe ; where he puts himſelfe into a poſture fit for a gentleman of his birth under an expert Commander : and behav'd himſelfe with that gallantry, as purchaſed him love, and admiration from all that knew him.

You have ſeene his Introduction to Martiall attempts was both fortunate and gallant, where you may obſerve, that this *noble ſpirit* in his firſt enterprize, ſhew'd a naturall averſion from baſe, and vulgar actions : and that he diſdained to accommodate himſelfe to Popular humors ; chooſing rather to ſuffer ſhipwrack with the nobler ſort, then to ſtand idle and let them periſh, if his endeavour might the leaſt conduce to their ſafety.

It was not long after he had entred the ſchoole of *Mars*, but he had occaſion given to make tryall of his wit, as well as fortitude ; for a Party of their Horſe attempted to beat up the enemies Quarters, and at the firſt entered the place ; where out of inconſideration and deſire of Pillage, they made a way to their owne ruine, by diſmounting ; for the enemy finding a way to gather a head and call

call more aid, came and ſurprized the diſperſed Souldiers. Our *Heroike youth* had ſtill diſcreetly kept on Horſebacke, and prevailed with ſome few more to doe the like, which had all eſcaped had not the enemy ſtrangely circumvented them. They ſeeing no hope of eſcape left, reſolved to force a way by meere ſtrength. In this attempt, he leading the way was knockt off his Horſe with ſuch a violence, that quite aſtoniſhed him; the enemy gave him for dead, he falling proſtrate on his face. Wherefore they buſied themſelves in ſearching for and purſuing the reſt, making ſure of him at leiſure. At laſt recovering his ſpirits and memory, conſidering how he came there, he lyes ſtill for a while, till hearing the ſtreets quiet, he lookt about very circumſpectly, and diſcovers all cleare with a Stable open over againſt him furniſhed with Horſes ready ſadled: He takes hold of the oportunity and goes in, chooſes one of the prime Horſes, commanding the boy there, not to dare to ſpeake till he was gone, as he tendred his owne life. After he is out he puts ſpurs to his Horſe, which with ſuch celerity conveyed him thence, that he eſcapt his purſuers, and unhurt paſt by divers that met him. When he arrived at the Army, divers of the chiefe Commanders were full of joy to ſee him, whoſe fall but even now they did generally there condole. The Generall himſelfe did praiſe his ingenuity and courage, giving him one hundred pieces for the Horſe he brought away.

This put a ſecond vigour into him, both encouraging and enabling him to continue in his preſent courſes; his ſucceſſe doth animate him, and his reward gives life to his encouragement. He continues with ſingular reſpect and love amongſt the Commanders, and Souldiers: moſt of the later propoſing him as an example to themſelves. At laſt ſome accident or other happens which calls him into *England*, his departure is very unpleaſing to that Army, nor can he get away without engagement of his honour for his ſpeedy returne. By this time his fame is growne eminent, and his friends began to reliſh his courſes, which makes his welcome of a better temper then before; for now they did honour thoſe excellencies in him which ſo proſperouſly began to flouriſh.

He had ſcarce taken time to viſit his friends after his arrivall, but his promiſe calls him backe, and thither alſo he is already by Letter invited: the imployment was ſo gratefull unto him, that to

his friends he makes a neceſſity of vertue, and tells them he had engaged his honour for his returne; under this pretence he bids them farewell, and immediately repaires to his former ſervice in the *Netherlands*, where he ſerves in the *Lieutenant Generalls* owne Troope, whoſe favourite he was, preferred in eſteeme before the reſt.

I am ſorry, that I am not able to give account of ſundry of his actions deſerving memory, performed in this time: divers of which I have heard related, though now I cannot call them to mind. One thing I cannot omit, to wit, the taking of a ſignall Colour in a memorable Fight in thoſe parts, wherein the honour of the adverſe Army was much engaged. And here I may take occaſion to expreſſe his modeſty, in my judgement very ſingular, for in the gaining of thoſe Colours he having ſlaine the man that carried them, another takes them up, when they were downe, whom the enemies aſſaile in ſuch manner, that there had that party died, had not our *Engliſh Gallant* reſcued both him and the Colours. This ungratefull man out of too much vanity, claymes the reward for the action, and ſuch was this young gentlemans modeſty that he reſign'd it, and as much as in him lay the honour of the act unto him.

This and ſuch like gained him an extraordinary portion of honour, and eſteeme amongſt all; but eſpecially endeared him to his Generall: inſomuch that he ſeeks occaſion to diſplace his owne Captaine-Lieutenant, thereby to make way for his advancement to that place. Which when our gallant perceives, with anger he expreſſes his diſlike of it, and abſolutely refuſes the offer: But ſtill ſeeing his Generall promoting the buſineſſe, and privately urging it, with a modeſt indignation he proteſts that he will not build on anothers ruine, and therefore quits the ſervice. Here you may behold an eminent effect of that true nobility which inhabited his generous breſt, and how much he diſdained to tread upon anothers head, for his owne advancement.

Immediately after this the Scottiſh Tumults began at home, whereupon an honourable invitation concurring with his owne naturall inclination to that ſervice; he makes for *England*: chooſing rather to ſerve his owne Soveraigne, then any forraigne Prince. This was unwelcome newes to the *Belgian* Army, that he ſhould

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now forſake that Field where his Laurell began ſo happily to flouriſh. But he will by no meanes be any longer detained from doing ſervice to his owne Lord and Soveraigne, therefore requeſting them in this reſpect to diſpence with him, he takes his leave. There never went thence a young Gentleman more beloved, or of whoſe loſſe the Souldiers were more ſenſible. When he was gone, long time, and often was he a ſubject of their diſcourſe, one praiſed his incomparable valour, another his diligence, a third his obedience and modeſty, a fourth his courteſie and truly noble nature, in fine they generally concluded, that he was a prime ornament to our whole Nation: nay, ſome chiefe men amongſt them did by Letters confeſſe, they did emulate *England* in the poſſeſſion of him.

By this time is our *young Picolhomini* arrived in *England*, (for that ſirname the *Netherlands* had already honoured him withall) he begins his Cõmand under that noble and valiant Knight Sir *John Digby*, whoſe Lieutenant he was: in which place he carried himſelfe ſo worthily, that no ones gallantry in that ſervice was more famous then his, of which he gave ſingular evidence in the Fight at *Newburne*. At which time his Captaines captivity gave him occaſion for his releaſe, ſhortly after to make triall both of his valour and diſcretion, in a very remarkeable manner.

Douglas, Sheriffe of Tividale (whilſt the *Scottiſh Army* lay heavy upon the *North* of *England*) adventured, with a party of about fourſcore Horſe, to plunder a Houſe in thoſe parts called *Stapleford*, belonging to Maſter *Pudſey*, a Gentleman of quality. Who as ſoone as they are arrived, finds meanes to bring intelligence to His Majeſties Army, where Lieutenant *Smith* ſeeing few upon the newes ſhew any great alacrity or forwardneſſe to undertake his reſcue, proffers himſelfe to take it upon him, angry (as it were) to ſee ſo little commiſeration or reſolution in many others who were more concerned in it then he. Being authorized to go, he ſelects a ſmall party of Horſe (of a farre leſſe number then many judged requiſite for his undertaking) thereby to make his enterprize more honourable, calling along with him two or three Trumpets beſides his owne, meaning to make that diſcreet uſe of them which ſhortly followes. This done, he ſets forward towards the place, where he arrives with that privacy, that diſpoſing all his Trumpets but one, on ſeverall ſides of the Houſe, he comes upon the Centry at

unwares, and cleaves him downe thorow head-piece, and all; then commands the Trumpet he had reſerved to ſound a charge, which all the other did ſecond with great amazement to the *Scots*, who thinking themſelves to be beſieged on all ſides, could not reſolve whether it were better to fight or retreit, either of which they might well have done, had they knowne how few their aſſailants were. In this confuſion, an old woman of the Houſe found meanes to let them in at a doore unguarded, where being entred they killed ſixteen in the place, and the reſt of the Souldiers with *Douglas* their Commander ſurrendred themſelves, to the mercy of this prudent and valiant Gentleman, who led them captive to His Majeſties Army; rejoycing that he had got one wherewith to releaſe his Captaine, which by exchange was immediately performed.

This was the onely action, redounding to His Majeſties honour, and the credit of our Nation, performed in all that ſervice. For our owne Army was then ſo confounded with Faction, and conſequently expoſed to treachery, that we proſpered in nothing we then undertooke. What honour and fame he gained by this, I need not expreſſe; for there are few I preſume in this Kingdome that are ignorant of it, every one praiſing and admiring ſo much diſcretion, and ſo brave a ſpirit in a gentleman ſo young. Not long after our *Royall Soveraigne* out of His tender compaſſion to both the Nations, and His unwillingneſſe to engage them in a Civill Warre, finds meanes to cloſe up the breach betweene them: though not without prejudice to His owne Royall Prerogative.

Now our brave Souldier betakes himſelfe to a retired life, in his Mothers houſe at *Aſhby Folvile* in *Leiceſterſhire*, not ayming at any further voyage: for he prudently foreſaw that the former fire though now covered with aſhes of a pacification, would ſhortly breake out into a greater flame then before. And was but a preamble to this horrid and unnaturall Rebellion, which now ſufficiently appeares in its owne ſhape. He ſaid, *he knew evidently, that though the* Scots *had obtained their wiſhes, yet the* Faction *who invited them to what they did, were as little ſatisfied as ever, and conſequently their unruly ſpirits, could not long containe themſelves out of action, but ſhortly would endeavour to ſet the Kingdome on fire.* He in the interim contented himſelfe with this retirement, being

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by reaſon of this expectation, unwilling to take any Command abroad.

His *Majeſty* was pleaſed in reſpect of his eminent carriage in the laſt action, to offer to make him a *Knight Baronet*, as a princely reward, and encouragement for his further progreſſe in theſe *Heroike courſes*. He conſidering himſelfe to be the youngeſt of foure brothers, that his revenewes did nothing agree with the maintenance of ſuch a Title, and believing that honour on thoſe conditions would be but a meere burthen unto him, modeſtly refuſed it; contenting himſelfe with his former condition: which action doth cleare him from all aſperſion of vanity. This *interim* he beſtowed in ſo good a manner, that he acquired ſingular love and reſpect, from all that converſed with him. His converſation was ſo ſweet and affible, and his exceſſes ſo rare, that moſt men in a Souldier admired that temperance and courteſie. This time he neglected not frequently to read and ſtudy books of Military Diſcipline and inſtruction; but thoſe ſelected, and of the choyceſt ſort: to theſe he added Hiſtories, ſeeking to extract thence in ſhort time by *Theory*, what many yeares practiſe would hardly afford him. He did well diſcover the ignorance of ſuch, as are onely trained up in the ſchoole of practiſe, under a few yeares experience; and confeſt, that *a meere practicall knowledge could not make a perfect Souldier, and that practiſe ought neither to march in obſtinate blindneſſe without ſpeculatives of hiſtoricall knowledge, and examples; nor theſe againe without practiſe, but that both of them ſhould be reſpected as neceſſary parts, to make a compleat Souldier.*

Long time paſſed not before the unhappy actors in this preſent tragedy, forgetfull of the honour of our Nation, their duty to their Soveraigne, or love to their Country, bring to light this unnaturall and ugly monſter of Rebellion, and Civill Warre: not reſpecting their owne happineſſe in the calme of a happy peace, or felicity in a King of that excellent temper, for all perfections belonging to a good Prince, that hardly ever did *Britannia*'s *Diadem* crowne the temples of his equall. This ſuddenly growes to that height and inſolence, that it was out of His Majeſties power to ſuppreſſe it, ſeeing himſelfe on a ſuddain deprived of all His Armes, Ships, Forts, and neceſſaries for Warre. But ſoone he is brought to that exigent, that either Himſelfe, His Queene, and Royall Progeny with the whole

whole Kingdome muſt be ruined, or elſe he muſt endeavour to oppoſe himſelfe, by all poſſible meanes to hinder its further progreſſe. To this end he caſts himſelfe into the armes of the divine providence, and out of nothing begins to raiſe an Army for His owne defence; preſently our *young Worthy* is ſought for, and made Captain-Lieutenant *under the Lord Iohn Steuart* (brother to the *Duke of Richmond and Lenox*) a gentleman of a wonderfull ſweet and noble diſpoſition.

This Troope was very eminent in reſpect of the Commander, upon whom the eyes of moſt men were fixt in extraordinary expectation, wherein whether they were deceived or no, let his ſucceeding actions declare. In the time of his Quartering at *Lincolne* there happened a paſſage worth noting. Not long before, there was a gentleman of quality in the Kings Army taken Priſoner by the *Proto Rebels* of *Kingſton* upon *Hull*, and there in time of his durance was abuſed by one of the *Wrayes*, Heire to one of the chiefe Houſes of that name in *Lincolnſhire*, who like a Jay, caſt a glaſſe of beere in contempt into the captive Gentlemans face. Whereof our *gallant Commander* hearing, was much incenſed: determining to vindicate the wronged Gentleman, if ever occaſion were offered. Whilſt he was at *Lincolne* this hotſpur *Wray* comes to Towne, whereof he having notice, repaires to the houſe and enters the roome where *Wray* and divers others ill-affected to His Majeſty were met; he demands of him whether he were the man who at ſuch a time abuſed one of His Majeſties Souldiers in *Hull*? the other peremptorily acknowledging the fact, he takes occaſion with his cane to pay him his hire, and did it to the purpoſe, in ſuch a manner, that the other preſent daunted with his courage, dared not once to ſtirre in *Wrayes* defence. This was an argument of his noble nature, and ſerved the Souldiers and Townſmen to laugh at a long time after. The like he did ſince on a Knight of greater name and *bulk* in vindication of a noble *Lord* to whom that Knight had been too *ingrateſull*. Indeed his diſpoſition was ſuch that he could better indure to ſee himſelfe wronged, then any other ingenuous man, and would ſooner vindicate anothers injury, then his owne.

He could not indure to ſee the inſolence of Souldiers over the poore peſants and country people, neither ever would he tolerate

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it if it lay in his power either by foule or faire meanes to remedy. Which an Officer of the Army (who thought himſelfe no meane man experienced certainly at *Leiceſter*. This man uſurpes power, upon I know not what authority, to preſſe, and diſpoſe of Horſes at his pleaſure: which he performed with that inſolence, as was very grievous to the people. Wherefore they complained to this *generous Commander*, who immediately queſtioned the other about it, and finding him both very guilty, and peremptory in his offences: Layes him (although he were his name-ſake) by the head and heeles in the ſtable, amongſt the horſes, and there lets him lie, *durante beneplacito*, till he was intreated to releaſe him.

By this time the *Cockatrice* of this Rebellion was growne to ſome maturity, & amongſt all that ſought to lop the growing Monſter our noble Captaine *Smith* gave one of the firſt blowes: the particulars whereof as they are related authentikely by the Herald, (who extorted the relation from his owne mouth) I will here inſert. In the beginning of *Auguſt*. 1642. He marcht with the Lord *John Stuarts* Troope into *Warwickeſhire*, there to meet the noble Earle of *Northampton*, who was then in Armes for His Majeſty. Captaine *Bartue* Troope marcht with him, and at *Rugby* on the edge of the aforeſaid County he quartered the 8 of that moneth, where he underſtood that at *Kilsby* in *Northamptonſhire*, about two miles diſtant, the Inhabitants had put themſelves in Armes againſt His Majeſties Proclamation; He therefore conceiving it fit to diſarme them, did that night ſet a ſtrong Guard in *Rugby* of about 30 Horſe, to the end he might draw out of the Towne at any hower with the leſſe noyſe, or notice.

Before breake of the day he marcht out, the morning being very wet, and before it was light, coming to *Kilsby* Towne ſide drew up his Horſe in a body. As ſoone as it was cleare day he entred the towne, where preſently he found the people gathering together, ſome with Muskets or other gunnes, others with Pitchforkes and Clubs, *He* asked them *what they meant*, and *told them he had no purpoſe to doe them harme, entreating them to deliver up their Armes for His Majeſties ſervice.* The unruly people no whit hearkned to his courteous deſires, but furiouſly aſſaulted his Troop, (which could not be drawne up into a body in regard of the ſtraitneſſe of the paſſage) they wounded two or three of his men and

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ſome horſes. Yet made he ſhift to diſarme ſome of them, and then advances to the *Conſtables* houſe, where he finds more company; but cõmanded his men not to diſcharge a Piſtoll upon pain of death, hoping yet by faire meanes to qualifie them. Immediately divers ſhot is made from the Windowes at him; whereupon, he commanded his men to give fire, and ſo preſently diſpatcht three or foure of them: which the reſt ſeeing, ran away all except an old man that with his Pitchforke ran at Captaine *Smith*, and twice ſtroke the tynes thereof againſt his breſt, who by reaſon of his armes under a looſe coate received no hurt, yet could not this old man by any intreaty be perſwaded to forbeare, till a Piſtoll quieted him. Here he took 40 Muskets, and the ſame day marcht towards the valiant Earle of *Northampton*, whom he met with *Brookes* his *Ordnance*, about three miles from *Warwicke* and attended him thither. In this action if you conſider the condition of thoſe times, you will diſcover a great deale of diſcretion in the managery of it, and nothing ſavouring of raſhneſſe or vanity, ſome taint whereof you might well expect in a young Gentleman ſo ſpritefull, and overflowing with valour.

The next action remarkable that our fortunate gallant had a hand in, was that famous fight *September* the 23. the ſame yeare, neare *Worceſter*: where he charged with that bravery and diſcretion, that many confeſſe he did ſingularly promote the victory. Thus dayly he gained new honours, and his Laurell ſtill flouriſhed with more ſplendor then could be expected in his age.

To this at *Worceſter* ſucceeds that memorable Battaile neere *Keinton* in *Warwickeſhire*, the particulars whereof following we owe to Mr. *Dugdale*, *Cheſter Heralds* carefull preſervation. His Troope at this time being in the Lord *Grandiſons* Regiment, was drawne up in the left wing of the Kings Army; This day his ſingular valour was moſt eminent for ſundry notable actions, eſpecially his reſcue of His Majeſties *Banner Royall*, vulgarly called the *Standard*. For after the Rebells left wing of Horſe, and divers Regiments of Foot were routed, and execution followed by His Majeſties Horſe of both wings, through and beyond the Towne of *Keinton*, It happened that this prudent Commander ſaw ſome *eminent perſons* of His Majeſties Army, in purſuit of the flying *Rebells*, which he conceived had beene appointed as a Reſerve of

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horſe, for aſſiſtance of our foote: which much amazed him, hearing both Armies at that inſtant in ſharpe fight, whereupon he preſently ſeekes out the Lord *Grandiſon*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, and ſome other Officers of quality; and importuned their ſpeedy rallying together of what horſe in this confuſion could be ſuddainly got, that ſo ſpeedily they might returne to the aſſiſtance of out foot.

His excellent adviſe was very well reſented by thoſe noble Gentlemen, and accordingly they ſoone rallyed about 200 horſe, and marched backe towards the Armies then in fight. In their paſſage they met with a great part of the Rebells of *Charles Eſſex* his Regiment, running confuſedly towards *Keinton* Towne with their colours: thoſe they preſently charged, ſlew ſome, routed the reſt and tooke all their Colours. This done theſe horſe rallyed againe, and advanced, but they had not paſt farre before they met with about three Troopes of the Rebells horſe, which were wheeled off from the reare of their foote, theſe alſo they charged, routed, and followed in execution ſo farre, that now this brave Commander could rally but fourteene men together to proſecute his returne: with which as he paſſed up ſtill towards the reare of the Rebells Army, he met with a great part of the Lord *Whartons* Regiment that formerly were routed alſo, and now were with their Colours, confuſedly haſtening towards *Keinton* Towne; theſe with his fourteene horſe he valiantly charg'd, and routing them tooke their Colours. The Majors Colours were taken by himſelfe, which he delivered to one *Chichly* a groome of the *Duke of Richmond's*, who had taken a Colours of *Charles Eſſex* his Regiment.

But now of all his fourteene there was no more left but himſelfe and *Chichley*: the reſt following the pillage of the routed Rebells. As theſe two were paſſing on towards our Army, this *Mirrour of Chivalry* eſpies ſix men, three *Curiaſiers* and three *Harquebuſiers* on horſebacke, guarding a ſeaventh on foot, who was carrying off the Field a Colours rouled up which he conceived to be one of the ordinary Colours of His Majeſties *Leife-guards*, and therefore ſeeing them ſo ſtrong, intended to avoide them. Whil'ſt he was thus conſidering, a boy on horſebacke calls to him ſaying, *Captaine Smith, Captaine Smith, they are carrying away the Standard.* He would not ſuddainly beleive the boy, till by great aſſeverations he had aſſured him it was the *Standard*, who forthwith ſaid, *They ſhall have me with*

it, if they carry it away; and desiring *Chichley* if he saw him much engag'd, to throw down the other Colours & assist him; presently he charg'd in with his rapier at the footman that carried the Banner, (who was then Secretary to *Essex* the Rebells Generall) saying, *Traitor deliver the Standard*, and wounded him into the breast, whil'st he was bent forward to follow his thrust, one of those *Curiasiers* with a *pollax* wounded him in the necke through the Collar of his doublet, and the rest gave fire at him with their pistolls, but without any further hurt then blowing of some pouder into his face.

No sooner was he recovered upright, but he made a thrust at the *Curiasier* that wounded him, and ran him into the belly, whereupon he presently fell, at which sight all the rest ran away. Then he caused a foot souldier that was neare at hand to reach him up the banner, which he brought away with the horse of that *Curiasier*. Immediately comes up a great body of His Majesties horse which were rallyed together (according to his first advice) to charge the enemy againe, with whom he staid; delivering the *Standard* to Master *Robert Hatton*, a Gentleman of Sir *Richard Willyes* his Troope, to carry forthwith to His Majesty. So farre was he from prizing his owne action, or gaping after honour or reward. The day was now so farre spent that he had time left onely to rescue Colonell *Richard Feilding* who was taken Captive by the *Rebells*, and was leading away, whil'st in the interim our *Heroicke Commander* comes, and in despite of them sets him at liberty. Surely this daies worke deserves eternall memory, and concludes that he was borne this day to place a laurell garland on his Soveraignes head, and preserve the honour of His Nation; Many confesse that the preservation of our foot is due to his prudent foresight and advise. If his valour had afforded us nothing else but the *rescued Standard*, we could not sufficiently celebrate his praise. It had surely in the peoples eies beene a sad *Omen* of succeeding enterprizes, had we not by his fortunate and couragious atcheivement repaired so singular a losse; but this on the other side encourag'd them, who seeing the *Standard* so neare lost, yet happily regained, conceived hopes that though the *royall Diadem* was as deeply engag'd, yet by the fortunate endeavour of such *Noble Heroes* that also together with the Kingdome might be recovered.

The

The next morning *King* CHARLES ſends for him to the top of *Edge-hill*, where His Majeſty (though the modeſt Gentleman did what lay in him to avoid the honour) Knighted him for his ſingular valour. Immediately our worthy Knight (ſeeing the *Rebells* having gathered all the reſidue of their ſtrength into a body, ſtood drawne up neare the ſide of *Keinton* Towne) ſignifies a great deſire he had that our horſe ſhould charge them, but that being not reſolved he craved liberty to have a ſmall party aſſign'd him, with which he would endeavour to fetch off ſome of their *Canon*, which being granted he march't downe into *Keinton feild*, and of his party he drew out about 30 to approach neare the body of the Rebells, and face them whil'ſt horſes were ſpan'd in to draw off the peices: he commanded this party himſelfe, facing their maine body within muſket ſhot, but their horſe were ſo aw'd with the former dayes worke, that they durſt not adventure to charge him with that ſmall party; with which he brought off three braſſe peices of *Canon* that ſtood about the left wing of the Rebells army in the battaile; which action our whole Army ſtood looking on with wonder and applauſe. He concludes this dayes worke with the generous aſſiſtance he gave Sir *Gervaſe Scroopes* ſon in fetching off his valiant Father ſtript naked and almoſt dead, with the loſſe of ſo much bloud by nineteene wounds.

Theſe valiant actions made him very eminent in His Majeſties ſight, ſo that the royall munificence gives him a troope of his owne, and the noble Lord *Grandiſon* elects him for *Major* to his Regiment: wherein he did ſingular ſervice in divers places, exerciſing all parts of an excellent Commander; witneſſe his gallant behaviour in the fight at *Brainceford*, and his beating up of the enemies quarters, with his ſouldierlike retreat, the ſame yeare in *December* neare *Wincheſter*. Where with a ſmall party he dared to goe into the mouth of a powerfull army, to beat up their quarters, and afterward when they came upon him when he had done great execution in the place, with ſuch diſcretion to make his retreat ſcarce with the loſſe of a man in deſpite of them all.

He ſtill more and more expreſſed the greatneſſe of his ſpirit, and true magnanimity, when the next day the potent enemy had beſieged them in *Wincheſter Caſtle*; he would have iſſued out and tried the utmoſt of fortune, rather then ſubmit to thoſe whom he ſo much

deteſted, one of which in reſpect of their exigence in proviſion, they muſt of neceſſity doe. But when he ſaw the reſt diſclaiming and not concurring, he was faine to deſiſt: But nevertheleſſe diſdaining to have any hand in the parley, refuſed to ſubſcribe to the articles of ſubmiſſion. How undauntedly he carried his captivity is incredible: as alſo how boldly he looked adverſity in the face. The Allmighty it ſeemes was pleaſed to make triall of his fortitude every way, to ſee whether he were as couragious in ſuffering as fighting, or as mild a Captive as a modeſt Conquerour. Very magnanimouſly did he ſupport this tedious triall of nine months impriſonment, where the enemy perceived his worth ſo well that they were loath to part with him on any conditions that might be termed reaſonable.

Nevertheleſſe when the divine wiſedome ſaw him ſufficiently exerciſed in this ſchoole of patience, he is at laſt releaſed, to the ſingular joy and comfort of moſt brave ſpirits in the Kings Army: ſome of which even with teares at *Oxford* entertaine him. The noble Lord *Herbert* of *Ragland* wooes him to his ſervice, and makes him *Lieutenant Colonell* to his Regiment of horſe, with promiſe of a far more eminent place in very ſhort time. In this interim of his command here, I, attracted by the fame which rung through the Kingdome of him, repaired unto him, deſiring to ſerve His Majeſty under this matcheleſſe Gentlemans command: and from that time to his death was an eye-witneſſe of what I ſhall after relate. There I obſerved the love, honour, and reſpect he had of all the Souldiers and Commanders, which valued him beyond expreſſion. I could not chooſe likewiſe but ſee his exceeding modeſty in the midſt of all theſe reſpects and applauſes. In his expedition againſt *Maſſey* he expreſſed the naturall averſion he had from rifling the Country, or enriching himſelfe by thoſe baſer meanes, in his frequent endeavours to reſtraine the ſouldiers from the purſuit thereof; where often he demonſtrsted his noble mind ſtored with compaſſion, in tendering the complaints of ſuffering people.

The *Court* lookes upon him as one deſerving greater command, and more active imployments, wherefore in his returne from the ſaid expedition (where *Glouceſters Idoll* ſhew'd his dexterity in running, as well as his policy in other things.) Our worthy Knight meets with the Kings Letter, whereby he is called immediately

away

away to *Oxford*, where he is no ſooner arriv'd but commanded thence by His *Majeſty* to the *Weſt*, there to take the place of *Major Generall* to the horſe, in that Army under the Lord *John Stuart*, by whom at *Wincheſter* he is entertained with extraordinary welcome; The *Renowned Lord* Hopton declaring that he alſo tooke no little content in the poſſeſſion of ſuch a Jewell. Indeed it was impoſſible for a Gentleman to finde more honour and reſpect then he did from thoſe *Worthy Lords*, together with the whole Army, the eyes of all being bent upon him.

Our *Gallant Major Generall* now ſetled in his office, begins and proſecutes his affaires with that prudence, courteſie, and magnanimity, that all ſorts of people were enamoured with his true excellency. He wonne the ſouldiers with his courteſie, the people with his modeſty, and even from his enemies drew he admiration for his gallantry. By this meanes his fame encreaſes daily to an unſpeakable height, inſomuch that beyond Seas alſo he is celebrated as *a worthy of the times*. He hath here fought ſo good a fight, as claimes already the ſpeedy poſſeſſion of a celeſtiall *Diadem*, and to that end he muſt now be ſummoned hence, but yet in the moſt honourable way that may be, whil'ſt he is ſacrificing his life for his King and Country in the head of a gallant Army.

Now approaches the battaile at *Bramdean* neare *Alresford* in *Hampſhire*, on *March* the 29. 1644. Wherein our Worthy muſt put a period to all his renowned actions, as if he had fore-known what was to ſucceed, the morne before he ſets out of *Wincheſter*, he prepares himſelfe for death in the beſt manner poſſible. All the time our Army lay expecting oportunity to aſſaile the enemy, every eye looked upon him as the *loadſtarre* of their ſucceſſe. In the night before the fight he goes out himſelfe and killing the enemies Centinell returnes backe with honour: In truth we had not any more daring, and vigilant then he.

It is incredible what chearfulneſſe, and alacrity he ſhow'd when the fight drew nigh, at meat that morning, bidding his Souldiers *feed heartily, for they ſhould have Princely ſport anon*. The fight begins where our valiant Foote beat the Rebels out of the woods, and bravely even beſtowed a hopefull victory upon us, till ſome out of a *raſh Gallantry* engage both themſelves, and the fortune of a glorious day, inſomuch that the Horſe muſt needs be commanded

up, though upon a great diſadvantage, which our *prudent Knight* reſents, and to ſome that were neare unto him expreſſed a great diſlike of it, but underſtanding that it was peremptory, he eſteemed his honour ſo highly that for a world he would not be ſeene to detract from any thing: leſt if thereupon any diſaſter ſhould enſue, the diſhonour ſhould light upon his innocence. On therefore he goes in *Heroicke obedience*, though expecting nothing elſe but what enſued. In a diſtracted manner they are of neceſſity to charge a ſolid body of the Rebels Horſe, lying under the protection both of Canon, and hedges lined with Musketiers: their Canon (when he is come almoſt within piſtoll ſhot with intention to charge in) flies off ſo freely, that amazes his Horſe, the fire even flaſhing in his face, cauſes him to reare, and turne ſidewiſe upon the enemy, who ſeeing all his riders power imployed to keepe his ſaddle, and recover his Horſe, let fly at him as thicke as haile: and in this interim comes one from amongſt them clad in Armes like a *Lobſter*, who with a Carbine gives him his third and mortall wound, in his belly on the left ſide beneath his armour; with this wound he falls, and with him the fortune of the day, and courage of our Horſe, for no ſooner was he downe, but daunted with ſo diſaſtrous an accident they in a great diſorder retreat, ſcarce any but his own Troop remaining on that wing, who reſolving to die rather then looſe ſo *brave a Leader* advanced to fetch him off, even to the enemies noſe, & indeſpite of them gallantly brought off him, his horſe, & Armes, whilſt one of the Company a *reformado* Lieutenant in a brave revenge, rides up to the *Armed monſter* and ſhootes him in the eye, ſending him to anſwer for his deteſted fact, in ſo baſe a manner wounding to death a Gentleman every way *accompliſhed*, and worthy. The Almighty was not pleaſed that any *miſcreant* ſhould live to glory in ſo foule an action.

Our *Major Generall* now wounded, deſires thoſe faithfull Gentlemen, *not to ſuffer him to come into the enemies hands, but convay him to ſome place where he may a while repoſe with ſecurity*. They bring him immediately to the *Phiſitian Generall* to be dreſt, who unfortunately miſſed his mortall wound diſcovering onely a bruiſe on the ſame ſide beneath it, and therefore concludes he is out of danger, upon this they bring him to *Woonſton*, a village 5 miles from *Wincheſter*, where his Troope lately quartered, here after he had drunke

drunke a poſſet, and warm'd himſelfe a while, he deſires to lye downe and reſt, a bed is prepared and he lyes downe, immediately falling to ſleepe; which conſidered, together with the courage he ſupported his mortall wounds, made us confident he was out of danger: his being ſo hearty, and no ſighs or groanes to be perceived, as generally in dying men. He was no ſooner awake, but he began to queſtion *how farre we were from the enemy, what time a night it was, and what was become of our Army*: and after falls into a formall diſcourſe, wherein he diſpatcht ſome particular things concerning himſelfe, which becauſe they were private I omit: which done he lyes downe againe, and ſaid, *the conceit of our men running away did more trouble him by farre then his wounds*: and though others were hardly induced to beleeve it, both now and before he expreſſed in a mild manner, *that his life was neare a period*: and conjured me by all the love and reſpect I ought him, to certifie his *Deare Mother that he died with a quiet conſcience, and a reſigned mind, hoping likewiſe that ſhe would not take his death with too much heavineſſe, but rather rejoyce that ſhe had a ſon to ſhed his blood for his Soveraigne.* A truly Chriſtian, and Heroicall ſpeech, which though but ſhort, compriſed the very *Elixar* of true fortitude, loyalty, and piety.

After this he prayes, making an excellent act of perfect reſignation, ſaying, *O my Lord and God, out of thy infinite goodneſſe have mercy upon mee, who caſt my ſelfe into thy bleſſed hands, heartily wiſhing that thy divine will may be performed in mee*: whilſt he was thus like the *Swan*, ſinging ſo ſweet a *dying Ode* with eloquence ſcarce uſuall in his life time, his carriage is made ready, to take him from danger imminent, to a place of more ſecurity: and ſo to *Oxford* if it were poſſible. He notwithſtanding his deadly wounds, comes down ſtaires on foote, & aſcends the carriage with that ſtoutneſſe, as hardly hath beene ſeene in a dying man: all the *ſymptomes* of paine you could perceive in him, was ſometimes he would bite his nether lip, when his pangs with moſt extremity came upon him. When we drew neere *Andover*, he began to ſay (his ſenſes being a little aſtoniſhed) *Good my Lord let us charge up againe, let us charge them once againe, and the day is ours.* As ſoone as we entred the towne he began to invoke the ſacred name of *Jeſus*, often repeating it with a ſoft voyce, as if he had taken taken a guſt and

ſweetneſſe

ſweetneſſe in the divine vertue of it. Shortly after, over againſt the ſigne of the *Angel*, in a mild and ſweet repoſe he expired: where it would have grieved the hardeſt heart to have ſeene him round encloſed with ſundry Gentlemen, condoling with teares the untimely end of ſo *Peerleſſe a Gentleman*.

Thus alas you have ſeene how *this Worthy of our Age*, one of the prime *flowers* in our *Engliſh Garden*, is cut off in his youth at the age of ſcarce thirty yeares: who ſeeing he was arriv'd to ſuch an eminent excellence in ſo ſhort a time, what might we have expected from him, had he attained but a mans age? His body at *Oxford* is entertained with exceeding griefe both to Court and City; whilſt his buriall is preparing at the Colledge of *All-Soules* in the Chancell, his body is expoſed to the peoples view, whither a great number of all ſorts reſorted, ſome to view his wounds, and many to behold the man of whom fame had proclaimed ſo great things, and for whom now there was ſo univerſall lamentation.

The next day being the firſt of *April* in the afternoone, were his Funerall rites ſolemnized, with as much ceremony as the ſhortneſſe of time, and meanes of preparation for one of his quality would permit, The manner whereof was briefly thus,

Firſt, three Trumpets with black Scarfes went ſounding very dolefully before, next his Horſe whereon he was ſlaine was led by a Page and covered in black to the ground, upon which were placed his Eſcucheons of Armes. Then two Heralds went carrying his Sword and Spurres; the Corps were carried by Gentlemen of his owne Troope, whilſt the Pall ſet with Eſcucheons was ſupported by the Earles of *Cleveland* and *Rivers*, the Lord *Herbert* of *Ragland* and the Lord *John Somerſet* his brother. Six Colonels, on each ſide the Corps three, carried his Armes; Then followed the Right Honourable the Lord *Carington* as principall mourner, accompanied by the Earle of *Lindſey* Lord Great Chamberlaine of *England*, and the Earles of *Northampton* and *Dover*, (from perſons of that degree an extraordinary reſpect) with divers others of the Nobility, after theſe came all the chiefe Commanders of Horſe and Foot then in *Oxford*, with a multitude of other Gentlemen.

In this ſolemne manner proceeded they to *Chriſt-Church*, and in the South-eaſt corner of the Chappell, on the Southſide of the Quire, was the body of this renowned and gallant Souldier depoſited:

ſited: at the head of the late Viſcount *Grandiſon*. Where after the Office of buriall was performed, this following expreſſion in honour of his memory was made by *Somerſet Herald*.

THus it hath pleaſed Almighty God to take out of this tranſitory life unto his divine mercy, the valiant and moſt worthy Gentleman, Sir JOHN SMITH, *Knight, (deſcended of the ancient Family of* Carington, *from Sir* Michael Carington *Standard bearer to King* RICHARD *the firſt in the* Holy-land) *who for his ſignall valour in reſcuing His Majeſties Banner Royall, in the Battaile of* Keinton, *after it was poſſeſt by the Rebels at that time received the Honour of Knighthood, from His Majeſty in the field; and ſince in ſundry other Battailes againſt the Rebels, hath given ſingular teſtimony of his loyalty and valour, eſpecially in that memorable Battaile of* Bramdean *on Friday laſt, the* 29 *of* March: *where having received ſeverall wounds in purſuite of victory, he dyed of them the day following at* Andover, *and here in* Oxford *is now interred.*

God ſave the King.

Here lies our noble *Heroe*, whoſe memory exacts both from his Family and our Nation a Monument to adorn his triumphant aſhes, which I doubt not but either of them will performe, rather then ſuffer the leaſt ſtaine of ſo great neglect, or ingratitude reſt upon them. In the meane time will I make bold to inſcribe an *Epitaph*, upon this living monument which I now erect unto him.

His Epitaph.

Immortalitati Sacrum.

SUſpend your teares, whilſt I declare
Whoſe aſhes here enſhrined are.
This Tombe adornes the precious duſt,
Of one whoſe fame can never ruſt.
That noble, valiant, gallant Knight,
Renowned SMITH *whoſe name ſo bright*
In honours Hemiſpheare doth ſhine,
That many judge it is divine:
And that ſome Deity at leaſt,
Doth his immortall ſoule inveſt.
Beneath this Marble doth remaine
The body, which did it containe,
And here it lies to be refin'd
Untill againe they be rejoyn'd.
Thoſe endleſſe glories to poſſeſſe,
Which crowne the Saints with happineſſe.

I cannot here omit to ſacrifice a teare or two upon his *urne* in a *funerall Elegy*, though in ſo doing I ſhall effect nothing but diſcover how ſenſible I am of his loſſe, ſo that even my raptures are ſo poſſeſt with his precious memory, that in them I am not able to conceale my paſſions.

An Elegy.

WEre Agrippe *by ſome ſecret veyne*
Convey'd into the Ciſterns of my brayne,

'Twould

'Twould be exhal'd (me thinks) in learned teares,
By this bright Sun, new placed in the Spheares
Of immortality: yet grieve not I,
To thinke he's ſeated in an Orbe ſo hie;
For this were envy; I grieve alas! he's gone,
So great a diſtance from our Horizon,
That we deprived of his precious light
Eſteeme the day a melancholy night.
Yet this my griefe is vaine, ſince he doth ſhine
Although Eclipſed to theſe rayes of mine
By paſſion; which hath from my tender eyes
Exhauſted ſuch a chriſtall ſacrifice
Of ſtreaming teares, that they by love exhal'd
In miſt-like incenſe hence, and then congeal'd
Into a cloud by griefe, deprive my ſight
Of his more glorious and immortall light:
Till griefe and love, juſtling as cold, and heat,
Combat in nature, like to her beget
Flaſhes of fire, and together mould
Something like thunder, out of heat and cold
Jumbling together; loudly may proclayme
To future worlds Great SMITH's *Renowned name:*
And with the clap this dusky cloud remove,
Which hides from me the bright aſpect I love.

Ed: Walſingham.

There are many whoſe curious affections will exact at my hands, many particulars about his inward and outward man, not yet ſpecified: which conſideration makes me here undertake a brieſe deſcription of him, in ſome ſort by way of prevention to ſatisfie ſuch as would expect it of me.

Sir *John Smith* was of a middle ſtature, but ſtrongly built, his haire was long, and thick, in colour like a ripe filberd: very decent and becoming; his complexion was a moderate ſanguine, but his aſpect was ſo awfull and ſterne, that you may conclude he was rather formed to command Armies, then allure Ladies, though in truth I have not ſeene a Gentleman whoſe ordinary lookes were

repleat with ſuch a naturall majeſty, intermixed with ſuch ſingular modeſty. From his infancy did he retaine a certaine liſping in his ſpeech, which notwithſtanding, was rather an ornament, then any blemiſh unto him. In all his carriage and geſtures you could obſerve nothing affected, or ſavouring of vanity, but on the contrary a certaine decent neglect, which did much become him. His humility was very eminent, for notwithſtanding all that honour and reſpect which deſervedly attended him, could any one conclude that any thin : in him ſavoured of pride, oſtentation, or arrogance, for he ſeemed wholy to be made of courteſy, reſpect, and modeſty. His exceſſes were ſo ſmall for ought that I could ever informe my ſelfe that he will be oftner admired then imitated ; for though I curiouſly obſerved him, I could never yet conclude that I ſaw him overcome by drinke.

Complements and Ceremonies were for the moſt part neglected by him, as out of his element, and take him generally he was wonderfull ſparing and reſerved in his ſpeech : but what he ſaid was for the moſt part ſentences and ſolidly to the purpoſe : the truth is, he did infinitely better expreſſe his judgement, prudence, and gallant abilities in action then publicke diſcourſe, being none of thoſe windy gallants whoſe chifeſt eminence doth conſiſt in vapouring bravely ; yet was he not ſo reſerv'd in theſe things, but he had alſo a ſweet dexterity in accommodating himſelfe to time, or company which often gained him a great meaſure of love and reſpect. As he was without taint of vanity, ſo there was none more free from emulation, for he would ſpeake the beſt of all, and if he confeſſed their defects, would alſo acknowledge their vertues ; yea though they were his enemies. He delighted to relate the exploits of others, but was ſo farre from boaſting of his owne, that he could ill tolerate to have another mention them.

In his councells he was very cloſe and reſerved, in his expeditions exceeding diſcreet, and vigilant in all his actions, as he was ſtrickt in his diſcipline and command to others, ſo alſo exact in obeying his Commanders, and diſdaining no imployment whatſoever. There was no common Souldier more patient of labour, or hardneſſe. His diſpoſition was wonderfull noble, and his liberality ſuch that whilſt he had any thing, his Souldiers ſhould want nothing. In his clothes he was nothing curious or vaine, witneſſe all that knew him.

With

With great diſcretion, would he make triall of their diſpoſition, fidelities, and ability, whom he intended to imploy about him, or entertaine into the number of his familiar friends, hardly affecting any whoſe diſcretion, candour, and fidelity, he was not aſſured of by prudent experience. He would not raſhly determine of any thing that was brought before him without due digeſtion, and fit conſideration; his prudence and foreſight, all his ſpeeches and actions did loudly proclaime. But which in reſpect of his youth is moſt admirable, I have not obſerved a Souldier more reſerved in courting Ladies, he was not eaſily intangled in every pleaſing object, but if ever he entertained himſelfe in that kind, a modeſt mirth, and not any baſer end was his inducement, for he judged ſuch diverſions unworthy entertainments for a noble mind if they tended any further then true affection and modeſt recreation. This is confirmed by a pleaſant paſſage happening not long ſince at *Wincheſter*, where he accidentally came to ſee a Letter by a young Gentlewoman of that place, in which he diſcovered ſo much wit and modeſty, expreſſed in ſo good language, that ſtruck with admiration he was very deſirous to know the authour. Her name was denied, but it was told him that ſhe was as beautifull as wiſe, and vertuous, and withall very young. Whereupon laying aſide all further curioſity, he anſwers, *Bleſſed be God who hath made ſo many excellent gifts concurre in one creature.* A rare concluſion for ſuch a diſcourſe, and admirable in a Souldier ſo young, and vigorous: It might well challenge any of the ancient contemplatives for patron. Doubtleſſe it concluded that Chriſtian piety which was ſo eminent in him, to be true and ſolid.

I could not obſerve any Souldier more duly frequent his prayers if his buſineſſe would poſſibly permit, whereby if prevented he would ſeeke to ſupply his loſſe with frequent aſpirations, and acts of devotion. Nothing was more oppoſite to his nature then flattery, for he ſought alwayes with a candid freedome to ſpeake his mind, which if he did not deſire to have knowne, he would by ſilence rather then diſſimulation conceale it. What time he could ſteale from company, or imployments, he would privately imploy in reading Military inſtructions, and obſervations; or elſe repoſing himſelfe on his bed conſult what he was to doe, and lay grounds for future deſignes, all which he went about with great prudence, and diſcretion.

He

He was none of thoſe who out of a bravery and raſh inconſideration run headlong with their followers into inevitable dangers; but as there was none in the fact more valiant, ſo there was none in the circumſtance more diſcreet, which cauſed all that knew him with incredible confidence of felicity to accompany him in any enterprize; whom ſtill he brought off with that ſucceſſe as ſeldome any the like; nay, in that neare *Alrexford* (where it pleaſed God to ſummon him from this earthly warfare to place him amongſt his heavenly Legions, there to proſecute his Soveraignes quarrell) not one of his followers were hurt, though expoſed as much as any, and ſome of them even laſt in the place. His former felicity ſtill accompanying them even at this time, when it forſooke himſelfe, to inveſt him in felicities by infinite degrees more permanent, and truly excellent.

Here muſt I ſet a period to my deſcription of this gallant Gentleman, with this confeſſion, that I want judgment and abilities duly to expreſſe his excellencies. Which I cannot better ſupply then with this acknowledgment: let any one imagine, what perfections they could wiſh in a moſt valiant, loyall, and Chriſtian Knight, I dare affirme them eminent in this *matchleſſe Commander* inſomuch that not onely his family, friends, and followers, but alſo deſervedly our whole Nation may glory in him; as a ſingular ornament unto them all: whoſe fame will doubtleſſe ever remaine, increaſing dayly with greater ſplendor, as long as our *Engliſh Nation* hath a being.

To the advancement of whoſe glory I muſt needs place this *Trophee of the Muſes*, as a votive tablet upon his famous *Shrine*, thereby to incite the learned *Poets* of our Nation to imploy their *diviner pens* in ſo excellent a worke, as concurring to immortalize the memory of *ſo brave a Spirit*.

An Acroſtick ANAGRAM.



S'hame 'tis to ceaſe, aloud for T O *proclaime*
R enowned Acts THAT *merit laſting fame;*
J n hope of which, the NOBLE *r ſpirits run*
O n brave attempts, that WORTHY *ly they done;*
H onor may cloſe, and fame T H E *ir actions crowne:*
N ew ages call them MIRROR *'s of renowne.*
S hall this be ſaid OF TRUE *th't and yet not one*
M ake haſt to place fam'd VALOUR *s Impreſſe on*
I nequall'd SMITHE, S JOHN *that valiant Knight*
T hat makes the name of SMITHE *the Lands delight.*
H appy PRESERVER *frõ the worſt of harmes*
E ven the glory OF THE *Imperiall Armes:*
He waighing death leſſe then the ROYALL *ſtaine,*
I ngag'd his life the STANDARD *toregaine.*
S hall we deſiſt now INREWARDOF *this*
T o ſing his praiſe? or ſhall HIS VERTUE *miſſe*
I n fame to live? AND'S LOYALTY *lye low*
M' indleſſe ith' duſt? THE VIRGIN QUIRE *ſay, no.*
S ooner we'll looſe OF LEARNED *maids the name,*
H is worth ſhall live, MUSES *have vow'd the ſame.*
O n honor's altar we HAVE PLACED THIS
N ew TROPHY, FOR AN *endleſſe marke of his*
E ternall praiſe, and EVERLASTING *gaines:*
R ecord whereof this MONUMENT *containes.*

UPON THIS ALTAR
OF HONOR IN THE
RAIGNE OF THE
UNPARALLEL'D PRINCE
WHOM HE SERVED.
CHARLES THE GRACIOVS.

ANGLICANO HEROI Sacrum
Hoc Trophæum Pierides ſacræ dicant.

The

The Author, to cenſure.

GEntlemen Our Engliſh *Triſmegiſtus*, that Oracle of wit in his *Advancment of Learning*, delivers ſomwhat ſingular in defence of my endeavours in this kind, which ſeeing requiſite I cannot prudently omit. *As for lives when I thinke thereon, I doe find ſtrange that theſe our times have ſo little knowne and acknowledged their own vertues, being there is ſo ſeldome any memoriall of the lives of thoſe who have beene eminent in them. For although Kings and ſuch as have abſolute Soveraignty may be few, and Princes infree Common wealths not many. Yet however there hath not beene wanting excellent men, though of an inferiour degree that have deſerved better then an uncertaine and wandring fame of their memory, or ſome naked and barren Elegy.* Such certainly was himſelfe, and the Gentleman I have here expoſed: chooſing rather like one of thoſe Swans (of whoſe paucity the learned *Viſcount* complaines) to carry my *tablet to the Temple of Immortality*, then like thoſe other *negligent birds* looſe it in the *River Lethe*: leſt my owne name ſhould deſervedly live famous onely for ingratitude; that living could neglect to expreſſe his unparallel'd worth, who even dying look't with ſuch a happy and affectionate eye on my indeſert; yet am I ſo farre from judgeing that theſe meane endeavours have acquitted the debts and affections of others, that I beleeve to have ſcarce ſatisfied for my ſelfe, nor ſhall I reſt content till I bring one graine of incenſe more to that great oblation which I hope the *Muſes* will offer ere long in publique to his memory thereby to induce *Hiſtorians* thoſe Goldſmiths of time in their elaborate rings the Chronicles and Relations of theſe daies, curiouſly to enchace this choicer *Diamond* to the delight and benefit of ſucceeding ages.

Vt herba ſolſtitialis pauliſper ſummus.

FINIS.

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The Weekly Account.

Num. 44

July. 3.

Containing,

Certain Speciall and Remarkable PASSAGES From both Houſes of PARLIAMENT, and other Parts of the Kingdome.

1. *A true Relation of the late Fight between Sir* William Waller *and the Kings Forces: What Ordnance and Drakes were taken on both ſides. Alſo, how Sir* William Butler *was ſlain, and divers other men of note on the Kings ſide. Together with the Cavaliers firing of* Banbury: *And a Probability that Prince* Ruperts *whole Army is routed.*
2. *The laſt news from the Leaguer at* Yorke. *The Enemies plot to regaine* Cawood Caſtle. *Prince* Ruperts *advancing towards* York, *the Forces that are purſuing after him out of* Lancaſhire, *and* Derbyſhire: *With the Diviſion between the Army men of* Cumberland *and* Weſtmerland, *and their reaſons againſt joyning with* Rupert *in oppoſing the Beſiegers of* York.
3. *Of the Lord Generals marching to Exceſter, and his tendring the Queen a ſafe Conduct to come for* London.

From Wedneſday the 26. of June, *to Wedneſday the 3. of* July. 1644.

Publiſhed according to Order; for fuller ſatisfaction.

London, Printed by *Bernard Alſop.*

Wedneſday the 26. of June.



THe City of *Worceſter*, abounding with people (which for the moſt part, are as poore in purſe as barren in knowledge) preſented a Petition to His Majeſtie, ſetting forth, That their Trading chiefly conſiſteth of Clothing, that their Weekly Aſſeſſements, and other Taxes were ſo heavie (and want of Trading ſo great, by reaſon they were prohibited from comming to *London*, where they heretofore vended their Cloth and other commodities) that they were utterly unable to pay the money aſſeſſed on them, and the poore not able to ſubſiſt any longer, without being ſet on work: And therefore humbly ſupplicated His Majeſtie, that they

they might have Libertie to trade, &c. Which petition was granted, and hereby having His Majesties Protection, the Clothiers and Chapmen issued forth their Commodities; but being met withall by the Kings Forces upon the way, the Carriers had all their Horses and Cloth taken from them: and His Majesties Protection made onely a stalking Horse for their Insolencies and Robberies.

The Lord Major and Aldermen of London, taking into consideration the great scarcity and want of Fewell, for the necessary and needfull use of the City and Liberties thereof, and finding it a very hard and difficult matter to supply the same in these difficult times, by reason that *Newcastle* from whence this City was formerly stored, is blockt up: The Lord Major with the advice of his Brethren the Aldermen, to give incouragement to all those that shall out of their good affection towards this City, adventure to bring Sea-coales, Pit-coales, or any manner of Fewell from any part of this Kingdome into the Port of London, for the use and benefit of the Inhabitants thereof, and parts adjacent, especially of the poore, &c. Hath thought fit to publish and declare, that such persons shall have free leave and libertie, at their pleasure, to vend and put to sale within this City and Liberties thereof, whatsoever Fewell they shall bring hither, for the use and purpose aforesaid; and shall be accounted, men well affected to this City.

Thursday.

From Plimouth we are certified, by Letters dated the 20. of June, that two dayes before the date of this Letter, there wes a Generall muster of all the Forces in that Town, and that 3500. able fighting men appeared in the Field compleatly armed. That a party marched out of the Town towards Plymton, about five miles from thence, where the Enemy keep a Garrison, and took sixty prisoners, and slew eight of their men, with the losse onely of one man, excepting one other which they took prisoner, and at the first had quarter given him for his life, but being carried to Plymton, one Collonel *Digby* run him thorow with his sword, and most barbarously killed him. The Garrison of Plimouth hath also taken great store of Cattle from the Enemy, so that Beefe, Mutton, and other provision, is very plentifull there, and sold at an exceeding low rate.

The last Letters that we had from the Lord Generals Army, signified that his Excellency was within twenty miles of Excester, and it was thought he would bend his Forces thither, notwithstanding the Queenes complementall solicitation for him to desist; for it is probable, she feares the feebleneſſe of her body may (through the obscureneſſe of her person) be some weakening to the City, and the gaining of it with little bloud, would cast her into a dangerous

gerous relapſe, after the death of the young Princeſſe, which lived but three dayes.

The Lord Admirall hath ſent ſome Ships before, to lye near Apſam (the Havens mouth for Exceſter) that no paſſage ſhould come out nor in by Sea, untill it be blockt up by Land, or reduced to the obedience of the Parliament.

The Earle of Newport (own Brother by the Mothers ſide to the Earle of Warwick) is now become his Countries Convert, having deſerted his Majeſties proceedings; and is with more eaſe of minde with the Lord Admirall at Sea.

Friday.

In yeſterdayes paſſages, I acquainted you with a proclamation for the bringing into the port of London any manner of Fewell; and that you may likewiſe perceive what great care the Parliament have that a timely ſupply may be gotten, in caſe the free trade of Coales from Newcaſtle ſhould not be obtained ſoone enough to lay in a Store againſt Winter. It is requiſite that I make mention of an Ordinance of Parliament, which this Week received audience in the Houſe of Commons, and paſſed the Vote; touching the cutting of Turf near the City of London in places moſt convenient: and it is thought (if the remoteneſſe of the place may not hinder the work) that Black Heath will be able to yeild ſuch a ſupply in this kinde, that firing may be gotten with great facility (if the time be not protracted for ſearching after it, till the Sunne hath too farre withdrawne her beames) and at a very low rate. And in caſe any owners of Land have damage by cutting of Turf, they are to receive ſatisfaction.

A Gentleman that came very lately from the Leaguer at York, made a full report of the whole Siedge; In relating whereof I obſerved that he varied not in ſubſtance from what I acquainted you with the laſt Week, concerning the Springing of the Mine, the maintaining of the Siedge, making good the breach, and ſending out a party towards Lancaſhire againſt Prince *Rupert*: Further affirming, that the Marqueſſe of *Newcaſtle* hath impriſoned all the well affected perſons in the City, and by hard and cruell uſage one Mr. *Blake*, a Gentleman of quality, and ſome others, have loſt their lives: That notwithſtanding the great Forces that have continued this time before the Leaguer, the Country is very plentifull of all things, and proviſion is brought to our Army at an eaſie rate, &c. But I ſhall referre you for later Intelligence from thence till Tueſday next.

According to an Order of Parliament for ſending down money for the payment of Sir *William Wallers* Army this day above twenty horſes laden with money in Dorſers, went out of London, which was the eaſier and ſafeſt way

of carriage, there being a man appointed to every horſe, with his ſword and piſtoll; beſides a greater Guard.

Treacherous *Greenvill* (we are informed) is raiſing ſome horſe and foot in *Cornwall*, but when the Lord *Roberts* ſhall advance into thoſe parts, his men no doubt, will follow his example, and not ſtay long with ſo perjured a Commander.

This Evening the Earle of Leiceſter and Mr. *Bagſhaw* came both to London; the one of them learned in the Law, and a Member of the Houſe of Commons, who formerly read againſt the Temporall juriſdiction of Biſhops, for which he was queſtioned by his little Grace of Canterbury; but the Parallel will no longer hold, for Mr. *Bagſhaw* gave great outward teſtimony of his ſincerity in ſtanding for the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, againſt Papiſts, or any other diſturbers thereof, and hath declared in his Speeches made in the Houſe, that the Parliament ſought for nothing but the enjoyment of their birthrights and exerciſe of the Goſpell; and yet when (looking with the eie of ſence) he thought the Parliaments forces low, he revolted from them, became a Iunto man at Oxford, and involved himſelfe in the moſt pernitious vote in the Anti-Parliament againſt the Parliament at Weſtminſter, that ever was againſt any Parliament in England, he was taken by a party of our horſe within the Kings Quarters at Dedington, brought priſoner into London, was this day brought to the bar of the Houſe of Commons, Impeached of high Treaſon and ſent a priſoner to the Kings Bench in Southwarke of which place he was choſen Burgeſſe.

Out of Lincolneſhire there we are Informed, that a party of the Newarkes lately ſallyed forth into the country to robb and pillage, not far from Peterborough, and were met withall by two Troops of Colonel *Rocesters* men, who charged them, killed two, and took 35 perſons, beſides horſe and Armes.

Saterday.

We are further advertiſed out of the North, that the Enemy had a late Deſigne for the ſurprizing of *Carwood* Caſtle, for a party came from *Purſet* in the night, and got our word, and entered under the falſe vizard of friendſhip; but the priſoners in the Caſtle knowing of it, when they ſaw them in the Court, made proclamation for the King; So that their hatte to get weapons to joyne with them, was the moſt viſible meanes to ſave the Caſtle, and the whole Garriſon in it. And although Colonel *Middleton* and ſome other priſoners, hereby eſcaped, yet more of the Enemy were killed, then eſcaped but of cuſtody, beſides many taken, and the reſt forced to flye.

This day came a Poſte from His Excellency the Earle of Eſſex who informs us, that His Excellency at his coming away, was near unto Excester, and that

that her Majesty thinkes her selfe in purgatory there, and that her condition should merit a release; and after long drinking of the waters of Strife, she sends to the Lord Generall for a safe conduct to go to the Bath, as if that water could cure her Malady; but the Physitians about His Excellency are of opinion, that Tunbridge water would work farre better effects with her, it being of a purgative operation, and therefore the Lord Generall sent an Answer to her Message, to this effect; That so farre as in him lay, no violence or injury should be offered to her Majesties person, and that whensoever shee pleased, he would send her a safe conduct for London, where the most means was to be had for the recovery of her health. The next newes therefore that we expect from the Lord Generall is, that Excester is either yeilded unto him, or that he hath layd siedge against it.

This day we received intelligence from very sure hands, that His Majesty was at Buckingham on Thursday last, That when an Allarum was given by Sir *William Wallers* neer approach, (and by the unexampled courage and good affection of the Country men of Hartfordshire, and Essex, with the parts adjacent, the Kings Forces were put to a retreat, not daring to adventure any further into that association.) The Cavaliers cursed and banned, saying, that before they would be compassed in, they would flye to the Divell, and try who durst follow them.

And while the Essex and Hartfordshire men are fresh in my memory, me thinks I should derogate from their worth, if I should passe to another Relation before I mention some particulars, whereby their faithfulnesse and forwardnesse in defending our Religion, and just Rights and Liberties, may not onely be a leading case to some other parts of the Kingdome, but perpetuated unto all posterity. For when the Allarum was brought that the Kings Forces were breaking in upon them, they thought improvidence to sit still expecting relieſe, untill the enemy had possessed themselves of their Arms, mounted upon their horses, driven away their Cattle, plundered their houses, defloured their daughters, and committing themselves into their hands whose mercies are cruelties? But unanimously resolve forthwith to draw to a head, make use of their own horse and Armes, and go forth to meet the enemy in the Field, so that at least two hundred men went out of *Ware*, a Town of greater receit then Inhabitance.) The like I could instance of many other small Towns thereabouts, but by reason of other matters, I cannot stand longer upon particulars, but passe to one generall, which will suffice for all.

There are gon forth with Major Generall *Browne* 2000 Essex men, compleatly Armed, besides two Regiments more that are gon against Greenland house. And we are informed that Major Generall *Browne*, with about 5000. men was at Newport-pannell the last night, upon his march to joyne with Sir *William Waller*, who was forcing the enemy to fight.

know

I know you cannot imagine, that ſince the laſt newes of Prince *Ruperts* cruelty in Lancaſhire, he lies ſtill and lookes not after new pray, for ſo natty is he to do wickedneſſe, that he holds it a high diſhonour not to do it, he is now gone into Yorkſhire, ſome ſay he will aſſaile to raiſe the Siedge, but ſo vigilant were Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and Lieutenant Generall *Lesley*, that hearing his deſigne was that way, they rather made a ſtay for his comming, then by ſcowring him farre off, let him have the advantage of wheeling another way; and will be ready to ſalute him at the Leaguer, or elſewhere: and ſummons are ſent forth in Derbyſhire and Nottinghamſhire, to gather all their forces together to joyne with Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to perſue *Rupert* if he marcheth to York, or to oppoſe him if he comes back again; and this day Derbyſhire forces were to meet at their Rendezvouz at Darby, with Sir *John Gell* and other Officers and Commanders, of the Country. Alſo Sir *John Meldrum* with the Lancaſhire forces are gathered togther to unite themſelves with them. We are alſo certified that *Preſton* Forces took 30. of Prince *Ruperts* men at Blackborne, when he was marching for *Craven*.

A great peece of Ordnance, powder, match, and other Ammunition, (according to order) went this day out of London towa d Newport Pannell, to Sir *Samuel Luke*.

Two Mortar peeces went alſo to *Baſing*, which we hope will prove good inſtruments in gaining of Baſing Houſe, for we are certified, that the Beſiegers have intrenched themſelves, and hope to render a good accompt of that ſervice.

Munday.

A Letter came from Sir *Samuel Luke* (Scout-Maſter Generall) declaring that ſome parties of Sir *William Wallers* horſe were engaged with the Enemy near *Edgecot* in *Northamptonſhire*, together with a Skirmiſh that was between them, about gaining of a Hill, and a Bridge there, which were obtained (though with difficulty) by Sir *William Waller*) but becauſe I have other matters in this place to inſert, and expect to heare of further action, you ſhall have the perticulars of this, with ſuch other addition, as from certain intelligence comes to my hands, in the next dayes diſcourſe.

Though I am not ignorant that the taking of *Oſweſtree*, in the County of *Salop* by the Earle of Denbigh, hath been ſufficiently ſet forth by other pens, yet would it appear ominous, if in my weekly Account I ſhould paſſe over ſo many Capitall Figures with a Cypher. The Earle of Denbigh (as I told you the laſt Week) being upon his march, with Sir *William Brereton*, and Colonel *Mitton* toward Cheſhire, to prevent the further incurſion of the bloody Iriſh into thoſe parts, tooke occaſion to looke upon the Kings Garriſon of Welch and Iriſh at *Oſweſtree*, with a party of five hundred foot, and three hundred

hundred horſe, leaving the main body intire. And made an aſſault againſt it, and Major *Fraſer* forced his paſſage into the Towne, drove the Enemy into the Caſtle, which they yeilded the next day. The priſoners taken, were one Lieutenant Collonel, four Captains, three Lieutenants, two Corners, three Enſignes, one Commiſſary, nine Sergeants, nine Corporals, three hundred and five common Soldiers, two hundred Muskets, and 100. Pikes.

From hence the Earle, Sir *William Brereton*, and Sir *Thomas Middleton*, are advanced forwards towards Namptwich, where will be great joy at their approach, and the old Soldiers being drawne into the Field, with the ſtrength that theſe Worthies bring thither, and aſſiſtance of the Country, will make a gallant Army terrible to the Enemy.

Major Generall Browne is advancing from St. Albons towards Sir William Waller, there being a very conſiderable ſtrength of the Forces of the Aſſociated Counties, of Berks, Eſſex, &c. which met at Hitchin to oppoſe the Kings forces in their plundering march that way, which puts me in minde of their inſolencies at Dunſtable, (ommitting divers circumſtances already preſented to the publike view) concerning their diſcharging of a Caſe of Piſtols at the Miniſter in the Pulpit, and inhumanity offered to him afterwards, their ſhameſull abuſing of women and Maides, with their violent cutting and laſhing of ſuch as had neither weapons nor power to make reſiſtance.

They moſt barbarouſly killed the Inkeeper of the red Lion, ſhooting him into the body with three brace of Bullets, and cutting and mangling him ſo long as they perceived any life, becauſe his Gates were not ſet open againſt their comming, although by the report of his Neighbours, he was the onely man in the Town, that was a favourer or partaker of that ſide.

The Array men of Cumberland and Weſtmerland have drawn what ſtrength they can towards Yorkſhire, to joyn with Prince *Rupert*, who relies much upon their helpe, but as the ſouldiers are unwilling to march out of their own Counties, ſo are the Gentry and Commanders unwilling to ingage themſelves any further in this quarrell, and ſome of the moſt conſiderable perſons amongſt them, have caſt about with themſelves what the iſſue and ſucceſſe of their haſty expedition might amount unto, have publikely declared their opinions, That if they took part with *Rupert*, their eſtates would be ſeized, That it was a thing unreaſonable to invade a neighbour County, which had not moleſted them, That if they went upon this deſigne 10000. Scots lately come into England, and were advancing that way, might deſert Newcaſtle, and fall into their Countrey: And for theſe and the like reaſons, Sir *Henry Bellingham*, Sir *George Dalſton*, and ſome others, were of opinion, that their ſafeſt courſe was to continue in their own Counties, and ſtand as Neuters; eſpecially, becauſe they heard that the Lord Generall had gained moſt part of the Weſt, and the King fled from Oxford: So that the major part ſeemed ſtrong

in

in opinion that they ſhould ſtay at home; but what theevent would bewas not certaine, when the letters which communicated this Intelligence to us received their diſpatch.

Tueſday.

Upon Major *Brownes* marching downewards, and Sir *William Wallers* comming forwards, the Enemy drew away towards Edghills, thinking to get over the downes, and eſcape without a ſtorme, and leade our Army another chaſe; which Sir *William Waller* perceaving, haſted towards a ſmall Bridg over which it was thought the Enemy intended to paſſe, which the Enemy were greedy of, and were as haſty to gaine the firſt advantage there, and on Saterday laſt, after ſome diſpute between ſome parties of ours, which had ingaged the Enemy to fight (though upon great disadvantage,) foure of our leſſer Drakes were exchanged for one of their Canons and a Demyculverin, which were halfe as good againe. The Enemy have fired Banbury the ſecond time, there being a very vehement fire on Saterday night, and the diſtruction which was made will too ſoone apeare.

One thing remarkable (which I ſhould have begun my relation of Sir *Will: Wallers* skirmiſh with the Kings forces) is this, that on fryday night laſt, two Troops of horſe which came from Warwick and Coventry to joyne with Sir *William*, met with the Kings forlorne hope, conſiſting of about 100 horſe, charged them, and killed ſix in the place, whereof one, was he that commanded the party; took 8 priſoners and forced the reſt to retreat, perſuing them in ſight of the Kings maine body, and came off againe without the loſſe of one man. Sir *William Butler*, a Commander of the Kings ſide, was alſo ſlaine, and Commiſſary *Wilmot* taken, but reported to be eſcaped, though much wounded.

Thus farr have I endeavoted to give ſatiſfaction touching this fight; but as for the number of men that were ſlaine and taken on both ſides, when our forces fell upon the flank of the Kings Army, or what hath hapned ſince, were a hard taske for one that was an eye witneſſe to be exactly performed, which makes me therein to be ſilent, till we receave further information from the Army. But Sir *VVilliam* is in a good condition, and hath cauſed the trees to be cut downe and layd croſſe the high waies, to ſtop the enemy from flying away. And it was further reported this evening, that Sir *VVillsams VValler* had routed twelve of the Kings Troops, and taken many Priſoners.

It was this day alſo reported (and that by one which takes upon him to be an eye witneſſe) that Sir *John Meldrum* purſuing Prince *Rupert* with 8000. men, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and Major Generall *Leſley* falling upon him in the Front with 12000. men, Sir *John* fell on the Reare, and have utterly routed him, and have cauſed him to flye toward Newcaſtle. Which is very probably true, but as yet we have no Letters extant thereof.

FINIS,

Exact and certaine 12

NEWES

From the Siege at

YORKE.

And of many remarkable paſſages of our Armys in thoſe parts, extracted out of diverſe Letters which were ſent by this laſt Poſt from *Hull*, to a Gentleman of *Grayes-Inne*.

As alſo the taking of *Mulgrave* Caſtle, and in it Sir *Walter Vavaſour*, Sir *Peter Middletons* eldeſt Sonne, and other Gentlemen of quality.

Together with the Relation of the Scots ſecond Army, advanced to *Blithenooke* in *Northumberland*, and their taking of *Morpeth* Caſtle.

With many other remarkable Obſervations.

July 3. London, Printed for *Mathew Walbanke*. 1644.

NEWS

AN

EXTRACT

OF

Foure ſeverall Letters written from HULL, and ſent by this Poſt to a Gentleman of *Grayes-Inne*, by a prudentiall friend of his, newly returned thither from the Leaguer before YORKE.

1 MY Lord of *Manchesters* Forces are daily in action, ſtraitning the beſieged in their quarters; and battering about *Bowdan-Barre* and the Mannor, and the beſieged frequently iſſuing forth, and skirmiſhing. *Iune* 24, there were about 20 taken, and as many ſlaine on the Kings party, and two or three hurt and ſlaine on my Lord of *Manchesters*, but this is reported ſomething diverſly.

2. The Scots Forces for the moſt part ſtirre not, by reaſon the Enemie ſallied not out ſo oft againſt their quarters.

3. My Lord *Fairfax* and his quarter is alſo often in action, about and againſt *Monck-Barre*.

4. Prince *Ruperts* Army, eſpecially in horſe, is reported to be great, and a great part of brave horſe and good foot, under the command of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and Major Generall *Leſley*, are gone forth towards *Rippon* and thoſe parts, to meet and fight with them.

5. I beleeve (ſo far as I can conjecture) the Yorkiſts are neither quickly nor eaſily to be conquered, but are reſolved to try all extremity in expectation of the comming and ayde of Prince *Rupert*; God turne all to the good of the Church and Com-

Common-wealth.

6. All the great and vaſt dales in the North-riding of *Yorkeſhire*, together with their two ſtrong Caſtles of *Midlan* and *Bolton*, ſtand ſtill as formerly, to wit, in a neutrall poſture, and to this day would never beare Armes, or pay Contributions, notwithſtanding all their ſeverall ſummons, threats, propoſitions ſent unto them.

7. Colonell *Charles Fairfax*, a pruden: & valiant Gentleman, hath again reduced moſt of the Biſhopricke of *Durham* to the obedience of the King and Parliament, and are now with about 1200. horſe about *Durham* and *Sunderland*.

8. Laſt night newes came hither, (believed true and certaine) that a new Armie of Scots is come into *Northumberland* to *Blythenooke*, of a-

bout ten or twelve thousand, and that they have already taken *Morpeth*-Castle, and that Colonell *Clavering* and the Scottish Lords with him, have rested themselves in *Newcastle*.

9. These seas heere are full of danger and robberie.

Out of another Letter.

10. Wee hold our siege yet, but are so prepared, that if Prince *Rupert* doe come, we are ready to meet him, we heare much of his advance this way, but no certainty which way he will fall into the Country.

11. *Mulgrave* Castle is taken, Sir *Walter Vavasor*, Sir *Peter Middletons* eldest sonne, and divers others.

Our

12. There is about *Whitby* some Ordnance landed for us, of which Colonell *Bointon* having notice, did prepare Forces to conveigh them to *Mulgrave* Castle, (now in our hands) and had sent Letters to some Troops in *Holderneſſe* to assist him: which Letters Sir *Hugh Cholmley* intercepting: and understanding thereby the designe, makes his strength, & goes and skirmisheth with our Forces, which a Master of a ship on our side perceiving, sent a shoare a Drake and 20 Muskqueteirs which by a mistake came to Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, and so were surprised, but we heard this day that *Whitby* is taken by Colonell *Bointon*, and that Drake, with 40 men and Armes taken, and one

FINIS.

Newton

Newton is left Governour in it.

13. Wee now heare also from Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who is about *Ripon* with his Army, that he cannot heare or learne that Prince *Rupert* is approaching any thing neerer *Yorke*, yet they are very cautious, and prepare for him, least that *Ubiquitarian* steale on them unawares.

14. Our hopes are rather to starve then storme *Yorke*, but our desire is to have it by composition, and yeeld darke.

15. *Cawood* Castle had like to have beene surprised, by a partie of Horse from *Pomfret*, but was prevented by the vigilancie of the Guards, though some Prisoners escaped.

1. July 1644.

Imprimatur,

JO. RUSHWORTH.

FINIS.

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13

AN ANSWER BY LETTER TO A WORTHY GENTLEMAN

Who desired of a Divine some reasons by which it might appeare how Inconsistent

PRESBYTERIALL GOVERNMENT IS WITH MONARCHY.

In which the Platforme of that Government is briefly delineated, with the tenents and suitable practises thereof. And withall it is demonstrated, that it is inconsistent with any government whatsoever; is full of Faction, Sedition and Treason; an enemy to all Peace, Domesticall, Neighbourly, Brotherly, &c. against Soveraigne authority, authority of all Iudges, and Iudicatories, entrenching upon all so farre, as there can be no liberty of Person, Trade, Commerce or Propriety, but at their pleasure who bear sway therein.

Bristoll
July 4 Printed, Anno 1644.

Sir,

YEsterday you desired me to give you some proofes, by which it may appeare how inconsistent Presbyteriall Government is with Monarchie. You were pleased to tell me that some good and worthy men doe desire to be satisfied in this point.

It seemeth these men doe not think that *Presbyteriall Government* is destructive of the true necessary and perpetuall Government of the Church, which is Episcopacie: instituted by Christ, propagated by his Apostles, and continued by uninterrupted Practice above 1500 yeares in the Church, and to this day retained in the greatest part of the Christian world. We deceive our selves, to promise or expect to King or Kingdome, Prince or Subject, Peace and safety, or deliverance from our troubles and distresses, if we subordinate Fundamentalls in Religion, necessary truths, of faith, worship and government, to our publique or private civill good. Nor am I able to expresse how high an Impietie it is, at this time when God's hand is out against us justly for our sinnes, to be so disposed and fixed upon a resolution, that to redeem externall Peace, we will embrace any Govern-

ment of the Church, provided it be conſiſtent with Monarchy: and will not ſcruple, not onely to ſhake off the true and neceſſary government inſtituted by our Lord, but by Law, endeavor by higheſt authority to condemne it as Antichriſtian. If this be *not to frame miſchiefe by a Law*, I know not what is. If this provoke not more wrath, more vengeance, make not the Land ſpew us all out, I am infinitely deceived. We may promiſe to our ſelves that by ſuch a courſe we may ſay like to the man in the Goſpell, *Soule take thy reſt for many dayes*, but it feareth me the ſucceſſe and event ſhall be much like to his caſe. Sir, I pray you conſider what Peace hath King or Kingdome enjoyed here or in *Ireland*, ſince Epiſcopacy in *Scotland* by Law was damned, and the Presbyterian Anarchie (the Seminarie of all ſude Faction and Rebellion as will appeare by what enſueth) by Law and Supreme authority eſtabliſhed.

I cannot diſſemble, but to a man of your worth and Integritie I muſt unfold my ſelfe: I admire to ſee too too many amongſt us here (where is great plenty of able Gentlemen of excellent learning, worth, wit, and all other perfections & endowments, as in any Nation beſides) to be ſo prepared that they are too too inclinable, if not actually reſolved, to admit and authorize in this Kingdom and Church what they know not: and to forſake that happy Native proper government of the Church, the ſweet fruits of which they have reaped ſo many yeares to the admiration, if not envy, of other Kingdomes, States and Churches. This is *Samaritan-like* to *worſhip that we know not*. Or Athenian-like to conſecrate an Altar and to ſacrifice *to an unknowne God*.

Ioh. 4

Act. 17.

Your worth and noble favours oblige me ſo much to you,

you, that I cannot chuſe but obey your command. And for your ſatisfaction, I preſent you with a ſhort view (as in a Mappe) of Presbyteriall Government: give you a little touch of their Maximes, and ſuitable Practices, and that with as much truth and honeſty as your goodneſſe expects from me. By which it will be more then apparent, that *Presbyterie*, as it is at this day ſomewhere within His Majeſties Dominions, is not onely *inconſiſtent* but alſo *deſtructive of Monarchie*; And where it obtaineth, it diſturbeth the quiet and Peace publique and private of King and Kingdome. This is that you deſire, and to ſatisfie you, to this I confine my ſelfe.

This Presbyteriall government within it's verge hath foure Iudicatories. 1. *A Parochiall Seſſion.* 2. *A Preſbyteriall Conſiſtorie.* 3. *A Provinciall Synod.* 4. *A Generall Aſſembly.* The *Parochiall Seſſion* moveth in the loweſt Sphere. The Generall Aſſembly is the *Primum mobile*, the higheſt Orbe, which carrieth all with it's motion, although the reſt have their proper and ſpecifick motions. The other two are in the middle, and interjected Orbes. I ſhall begin at the loweſt Iudicatorie, and ſo ſhall orderly aſcend to the Supreams.

Of the Parochiall Seſſion.

EVery Pariſh hath one or more Miniſters. If more, all of them are equall in all honour and juriſdiction, onely the Senior hath the precedencie. To the Miniſter, or Miniſters of each Pariſh, to make up a Seſſion, in which is fixed the Parochiall Iuriſdiction, a competent number of *Lay-Elders*, (whom they call, *Presbyteri non docentes*) and Deacons, proportionable to the precinct and extent of the Pariſh,

1. Of the Seſſion, how and of whom conſtituted.

Pariſh, are conjoyned: which aſſociate body thus compacted, is the *Spirituall-Parochiall-Sanhedrim.*

This Seſſion ſits once a week, or oftner, *pro re natâ*: In which *all Parochiall caſes*, which concerne *externall order and cenſure*, are determined and ordered.

The Miniſter is Moderator.

If there be but one Miniſter in the Pariſh, he is *conſtant Moderator*; If there be more, they moderate by turnes, either weekly, or monthly, as they agree.

He hath no Negative Voyce.

Whatſoever thing is ordered, determined, or decreed, is done by the joynt-conſents of the *Miniſter, Lay-Elders, and Deacons*, or by the plurality of voyces. The Miniſter, who is the Moderator, hath *no caſting, no Negative Voyce.*

The Iuriſdiction ſpirituall is radically in the Lay-Elders.

The power of all Iuriſdiction, is *radically*, and *equally* in all: for binding, for looſing, for all cenſures Eccleſiaſticall, for orders which concerne externall order and worſhip. So the *Power of the Keyes* is as much in the *Lay-Elders*, and Deacons, as in the Miniſter or Miniſters. What ſacrilegious intruſion upon ſacred Orders this is, I need not informe one of your underſtanding.

Their foure ſacred Ordes.

To make this frame good, they maintaine that *Iure divino* there be foure orders of Eccleſiaſticall offices, (allow me to ſpeake in this Epiſtle all along their dialect) or perſons. 1. *Preaching-Elders*, whom they call Miniſters. 2. *Doctors*, theſe are profeſſors in the Chaire, ſuch as are in Vniverſities. 3. *Lay*, or *ruling*-Elders, who now have *vocem deliberativam & deciſivam in rebus fidei, Cultûs, politiæ*, and *in foro exteriori Eccleſiæ, in cenſuris Eccleſiaſticis* are as much intereſſed and authorized, as Preaching-Elders. 4. *Deacons*, who have truſt of the meanes, and monies deſtinated for pious and charitable uſes.

This is very conſiderable too, that although they hold theſe foure orders and offices neceſſary for the Govern-

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ment of Christ's Church, *de Iure divino*, by divine Right and Institution; yet neither the Parochiall Conclave, nor any Presbyteriall Consistory (except it be where the Presbyteriall seat is in a City where an University is) have any Doctor or Doctors amongst them. Nay which is more, nor be any such in their generall Assemblies, or if they be, they appeare only in that capacity as Commissioners from, and for the Vniversity.

It is worth your notice taking, that their Lay-Elders and Deacons are yearely elected. Here is truly verified of them, that, *Hodie Clericus, cras Laicus.* This yeare they are sacred, the next yeare prophane.

The things within the compasse of *Session jurisdiction*, are, things meerly Parochiall, the ordering of the Parish-Church and peculiar Service, the censure of lesser Scandalls (I must speak their words) as Fornication, Drunkennesse, Scolding, Profanation of the Sabboth (they mean *the Lords day*) &c. Capitall Scandalous crimes, or Scandalls of Highest straine, are reserved as cases of peculiar jurisdiction for *the Presbytery*; as also lesser offences when they are attended with *Obstinacy*, and what is censurable or punishable by the *greater Excommunication*. If I mistake not, they know not much, at least use not much the *Lesser Excommunication*. In the cases above mentioned the Cognition, Examination, and Iudgement of the cause is proper to the *Presbytery*, the Minister with his *Parochiall Conclave*, are only the *Executioners*. If any parochiall difficult case occurre, which this *Parochiall Sanhedrim* cannot determine, the use is to consult with *the Presbytery*. The competent cases of this Session.

When the *Session* censureth any delinquent, or Scandalous person, they order his publique and Solemne repentance (if by some superiour judicatorie it be not determined) They enjoyn civill punishments and fines.

termined) as they think fit by plurality of voyces: after performance of which order, the penitent is received into the communion of the Church. But before the delinquent be admitted to doe his Repentance, he is fined in a *pecuniary mulct*, at their discretion, proportioned to the *demerit of the offence*, and the *ability of the Person*, as he is poorer or richer. It is true, this mony is, for the most part, imployed to pious and charitable uses. As they punish by Pecuniary fines, so *corporally* too, by imprisoning the persons of the Delinquents using them disgracefully, carting them through Cities, making them stand in *Iogges*, as they call them, Pillaries, (which in the Country Churches are fixed to the two sides of the main doore of the Parish Church) cutting the halfe of their Haire, shaving their Beards, &c. and it is more then ordinary, by their *Originall* and *Proper power*, to banish them out of the bounds and limits of the Parish, or Presbytery, as they list to order it. Is not this *potestas utriusq; gladii?* & would not a good Learned Iurist say, that this is not only intrusion upon *meerly civill power*, but upon the very Royall Rights themselves? The Imperiall Law, if I be not mistaken, maketh *banishment* so peculiar to the Soveraign Authority, that without it's power and consent, it cannot be inflicted upon any *civis*, any Subject.

They will not baptise the child, if either of the parents have not payed the fine or satisfied the Church.

Their ordinary practice more in this is; that when a pecuniary mulct is inflicted, if the delinquent pay not the defined and determined summe, or at least give security for the payment of it, although he should testify all the contrition is requisite, by humble confession, and offer most willingly to doe all pennance, to give all satisfaction, he will not be admitted to satisfy publikely: nay he is proceeded against for *Contumacie*, and they will threaten Excommunication.

Nor

Nor is that to be paſſed by, that if a Child be borne *in Fornication*, and either of the Parents hath not ſatisfied the Church; they will refuſe to Baptiſe the poor infant, till the Church get ſatisfaction. This is conſonant with Scripture, *anima quæ peccaverit, ipſa morietur.* It is fit now in the next place to ſpeak of

The Presbyterie.

VVHich is the next Iudicatory, to which the Seſſion is ſubordinate. It hath in it ſomewhere more, ſomewhere fewer Pariſh-Churches; as ſome are made up of Twenty, ſome of Twelve, ſome of fewer.

All perſons within theſe Pariſhes, within the precinct of this Presbyterie, of what quality ſoever (the King, or His family herein are not exempted; nay nor from the juriſdiction of His Parochiall Seſſion) are under the power and juriſdiction of this *grand Conſiſtory.*

The members Conſtituents of this Presbytery are all the Parochiall Miniſters within its compaſſe, and a Lay-Elder for each Pariſh. The Lay-Elders are in number equall to the Preaching Elders; and in power, voyce, Iuriſdiction, in Hæreſie, Idolatry, Worſhip, Cenſure, &c. are *pari conſortio honoris & poteſtatis præditi*, are ſo equall and unanime, that a Plowman from the Plow, or a Tradeſman from his ſhop, ſitting there in the capacity of a Lay-Elder, his voyce is as good as the voyce of the moſt Reverend and Learned Divine, if any be there. They maintain a parity in all, only a little difference in this, that a Lay-Elder cannot be Moderator. Yet have they no Canon for it. And we are able to prove by their books, that men who were never in Sacred Orders of Prieſt or Biſhop, have been Moderators, not only of their Presbyte-

The members conſtituents of the Presbyterie.

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rie, but of their ſo much *Idolized Generall Aſſembly*. Mr *Robert Toole*, who was never Prieſt, nor Deacon, onely Reader in Sᵗ *Andrews*, was in one turne, for a yeare, or halfe a yeare, or ſome laſting time, Moderator of the Preſbyterie of Saint *Andrews*, and Mr *George Buchanan*, who was never Church-man, and Mr *Andrew Melvil* who had never the Order of Deacon, both of them have been Moderators of their *great Generall Aſſembly*.

The caſes proper to it.

The caſes proper to this Iudicatory, are firſt, ſuch as are from every individuall Pariſh within its compaſſe referred, or preſented. 2. All crimes and ſcandalls of higheſt ſtraine, namely ſuch as are civilly puniſhable by death. 3. All crimes which come under the cenſure of Excommunication. 4. All appeales from Seſſions. 5. All differences which cannot be compoſed or determined in the *Parochiall Conclave*. 6. The viſitation and cenſure of all what is amiſſe in every Pariſh, either in Preacher or other. 7. The appoynting of Readers, and Schoolemaſters.

The time of meeting.

They meet once a week in ſome places, in other places only once a fort-night. All the miniſters in their ſeverall turnes, at their meeting *Exerciſe*, as they call it; that is, there is appoynted by the Presbyterie, ſome one book of old, or new New Teſtament, which every one by turnes in his own courſe interpreteth in the Pariſh Church, where the Presbytery doth meet. Two alwaies ſpeak, the firſt from the Readers Desk or Pew; the other, in ſome other place diſtant from him, but convenient for hearing. The firſt Analyſeth, Interpreteth, and taketh away the doubts of his Text; and (as they enjoyne) he is bound to the *doctrinall part*. The ſecond, when the firſt hath done, addeth to what is ſaid: hath a warrant to ſupply the defects, or correct the errors of the firſt ſpeaker; but eſpecially his charge

charge is the *Pastorall part*, to apply the text, and bring it home to the affections.

There be Ingredients in this *Exercise*, such as God's Church before this late age never knew, a kind of Creatures whom they call *Expectants*. These are students in Divinity, or Country Schoole-masters, or such youths who are bred with some *Gamaliel*; who after that they have given their private tryalls, by Preaching and dispute, are enrolled *Expectants* of such, or such a Presbyterie. These must keep their turnes in Exercising, and adding (as they call it) with the actuall Ministers, (so they call them) and once admitted to that Presbyterie, may, whensoever employed, Preach in any Parish Church within the bounds of that Presbyterie, doe all *Ministeriall acts*, except Baptize, or give the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, (for ought I know, there is no Consecration used by them in that holy action, but a meere thanksgiving) nay they may be constant helpers, and Copreachers with a Rabbie, if hee, the Parish, and Presbytery agree to it. I pray you shew me where ever you read of such a profanation, that a Lay-man without Orders, Imposition of hands, shall be a publique Preacher of God's word, and intrude upon this Sacred Function. These, for the most part, were the *Beardlesse Boyes* King *Iames*, of blessed memory, mentioneth in the conference at *Hampton Court*, *Who would brave him to his face.* pag. 4. Lay Preachers.

Within one County there may be two, or three, more or fewer Presbyteries, according as there be more or fewer Parish-Churches; and yet all these Presbyteries are independant one from another: only it is remarkable, that the Presbyterie of *Edenburgh*, because (as they speak) *it is seated on the Watch-Tower*, hath well nigh obtained

by cuſtome, and other meanes, a *Superintending power*, over all other Presbyteries; and other Presbyteries many times ſend thither to have reſolution of their difficult caſes. The reaſon is, beſides the eminency of this City by its wealth, and the reſidence of all higheſt Courts of Iuſtice there; although this Allobrogicall brood maintaine Parity, there be notwithſtanding ſome few Patriarchs, who rule and over-rule all, *who Lord it, and Pope it* over the Lord's Inheritance, and in this City ordinarily are ſome of theſe Patriarches: and the *Reſponſa prudentum* from hence, are received as Oracles by remote Presbyteries, and reverenced as anſweres by *Vrim* and *Thummim*.

There is none who liveth within the verge of a Presbyterie, but is anſwerable to this *Claſis and Iudicatorie*, and muſt appeare whenſoever, or for whatſoever cited. The King and His family are not exempted, nor priviledged: if He be cited, and appeare not, He may be excommunicated for His diſobedience and contumacy: If He appeare, He muſt ſubmit His earthly Scepter, to that their Scepter, which they terme the Scepter of Chriſt; He muſt doe what is enjoyned. The Presbyterie is independent from the Crowne of an *earthly King*, who is *Gods and Chriſts Vicegerent in the generall Kingdome* of His providence only; But this *Sanhedrim* is *Chriſts vicegerent* in His œconomicall Kingdome as Mediator, as they ſpeake; and conſequently to it He muſt vaile His Crowne, ſubmit His Scepter, and from it receive Chriſts Law and Ordinances.

King *Iames* of bleſſed memory knew this well, who therefore in that Conference at *Hampton-Court*, pag. 79. ſaith, "*A Scottiſh Presbyterie, as well agreeth with a Monarchie, as God and the Divell, then* Iack *and* Thom, *and* Will,

" Will, *and* Dick, *ſhall meet, and at their pleaſures cenſure*
" *Me, and my Councell, and all My proceedings. Then* Will
" *ſhall ſtand up and ſay, it muſt be thus: Then* Dick *ſhall re-*
"*ply*, and ſay, nay marry, *but we will have it thus. And*
" *therefore here I muſt once reiterate my former ſpeeches*
(the King is anſwering to D. *Rainolds*, who ſeemeth to begge of His Majeſty a Presbyterie, or ſome thing like to it) " *Le Roy s' aviſera: Stay I pray you for one ſeaven years*
" *before you demand that of me: and if you then find me pur-*
"*ſey and fat, and my Wind pipes ſtuffed, I will perhaps*
" *hearken to you: for let that Government be once up, I am*
" *ſure I ſhall be kept in breath, then ſhall we all of us have*
" *work enough, both our hands full. But D. Rainolds till you*
" *find that I grow Lazie, let that alone.*

The Presbyterie hath kept ſtate with King *Iames.*

It is more than notoriouſly knowne to many yet living, and is upon Record in the Presbytery Bookes of *Edenburgh*, how King *Iames*, not once, but many times, hath ſent men of Honour and good quality, demanding, or rather requeſting for ſome things at their hands; who have heard the Commiſſiones propoſe the King's mind; But they, to keep the power and place Chriſt hath given them in that dignity, ſuitable to ſo high a truſt, have diſmiſſed the Gentlemen ſent by the King without anſwer, and by an Order of that *Spirituall houſe*, have appointed one, or two, as *Commiſſioners of the Presbytery*, to goe to the King with *their will and pleaſure*, looſing no thing of *Chriſt's authority*, and carrying themſelves with the King almoſt, as if two free Eſtates, or two free Kings had met, and were dealing together.

All caſes and crimes are within the cenſure of the Presbyterie.

As no perſon is exempted from obedience and ſubmiſſion to this power, ſo no crime or ſinne whatſoever *committed*, or *ſuſpected* to be committed, within the Seig-

norie of this pettie Principalitie. And that ſometimes is ſo extravagantly and tranſcendently too look't after, and called in queſtion, (eſpeceially if indiſcreet zeale, or holy Spleen work and move by the Spirit on a holy Brother) that if there be a fact and fault committed, ſecret, or knowne to very few, it is brought forth to the light of the World: There is no care taken to reconcile the Lapſed to God in a private way, and to conceale his offence, but diſgraced he is publiquely. What ſound repentance this may worke, judge you. How conſonant this is to the Apoſtolicall Canon, *They that ſinne publiquely, rebuke publiquely*; and to the common Maxime of the Church, *de occultis non judicat Eccleſia*; he may eaſily ſee, who hath not divorced himſelfe from common ſenſe and reaſon. To cure theſe ſecret ſinnes by the power of the Keyes *in interiori foro conſcientiæ*, and to cover them with the mantle of Charitie, ſmelleth rankly of auricular Confeſſion, Popiſh abſolution, and *Sigillum confeſſionis*. See the conference at *Hampton-Court, pag. 93*. It is certaine, a fooliſh man revealing fooliſhly his faults to his wife, the zealous wife, upon ſome quarrelling betwixt her and her Husband, hath gone to a good Miniſter, revealed what was told her, and the honeſt impartiall Miniſter hath convented the man, charged him with his ſinne, and made him confeſſe, ſatisfie, and doe pennance publiquely.

Crimes ſuſpected, are curiouſly here inquired after.

Nay upon a ſurmiſe, ſuggeſtion, ſuſpition, or any miſinformation, if the Miniſter, or Lay-Elder delate, (that is preſent) two perſons to converſe ſo familiarly, that it is to be feared that they are guilty of fornication, if they be unmarried, or of adultery, if both of them, or either of them be married, they ſhall be cited, and convented, examined by all proofes, preſumptions, interrogatories, *&c.* whether

whether or not they have ſinned. If that the preſumptions be pregnant, although no proofe be, they ſhall be put in cloſe priſon, fed on bread and water, kept that none may come at them, all Members Conſtituents of theſe Iudicatories, appointed to try what they know againſt the *next Court day*; when no proofe can be had, and all the preſumptions doe not faſten guiltineſſe upon the accuſed, and the Impriſonment and other hard uſages cannot extort a confeſſion, they are diſmiſſed: But an act is enacted, that if thoſe two perſons ſuſpected of fornication, or adultery, ſhall be ſeen to meet, or be in company together, except they meet in Church or Market, it ſhall be holden *pro confeſſo*, as confeſſed, that they are guilty of what they are charged with.

Nay ſometimes the parties, although innocent, and no reall evidence being produced againſt them, are brought on the Lord's day publiquely to the midle of the Church before the Pulpit, to declare, ſometimes to confirme their Declaration by an Oath, that they are innocent and free of that crime wherewith they are charged. And ſometimes they are forced to make their publique Repentance in the Church, upon a Pillarie, for their unchriſtian behaviour: becauſe that although the parties charged be free, yet their converſation hath been *ſuſpitious and ſcandalous*.

A whole Volume might be written of young women by theſe courſes diſgraced and defamed: of many Families divided and ſcattered, whereas before there was no jealouſie betwixt the man and the wife.

This Iudicatorie of the Presbytery is ſo high, and of ſo vaſt a latitude, that as the *Pope* bringeth in all civill cauſes to himſelfe as a competent Iudge, *ſub formalitate peccati*, ſo this *Papall Conclave* bringeth any thing, howſoever

ver meerly and purely civill, under it's laſh, *ſub formalitate ſcandali*, as ſcandalous to a Chriſtian profeſſion.

Presbyterial Government inconſiſtent with the liberty of trade and commerce.

It is not forgotten by many yet living, how the Presbytery of *Edenburgh* attempted to cenſure Eccleſiaſtically the Merchants there, for carrying Wheat to *Spaine* in time of a Famine or dearth there, for this was to feed and maintaine God's enemies. But above all, that was a *piaculum*, an almoſt inexpiable ſinne, to tranſport waxe to *Spaine*, for this was to be acceſſory to Idolatry, in reſpect the greateſt part of this waxe was employed in making Tapers and Candles to the *Virgin Mary*, and *other Saints*.

Inconſiſtent with the authority of civill Iudicatories.

In S. *Andrewes*. *I. T.* was endebted to *P. T.* a conſiderable ſumme of money, the greateſt part of his ſtock. *I. T.* delaying, or ſhuffling, or not able to pay *P. T.* at the day of payment deſigned in the Bond, *P. T.* obtained before the Lords of Seſſion a Iudgement againſt *I. T.* with power to demand payment in the King's Name, and upon diſobedience to be out lawed and fall into a *Præmunire*, or eſcheating of his moveable goods and Chattells. *I. T.* bemoanes himſelfe to the Presbyterie. The Preſbyterie convents *P. T.* before them, threatens him with Excommunication, if he did perſiſt to put in Execution the Iudgement of the higheſt Iudicatorie in the Kingdom: and for feare of this dreadfull Court and horrid ſentence, he paſſes from his purſuit, continueth the demanding of repaying of his money. You ſee here what power this Presbytery hath over all, and the higheſt of civill Iudicatories.

The Presbytery at pleaſure repealeth Royall grants by Law confirmed.

Infinite inſtances of this kind may be produced, give me leave to adde one of a higher ſtraine. The City of *Edenburgh*, by the Kings of *Scotland*, amongſt other favours and priviledges, hath a Royall grant of a weekly Market

Market day on Monday. This Grant is confirmed by Letters Patents under the great Seale, and by the ſtanding Lawes of the Kingdome; The Presbyterie here by their tranſcendent ſole authority, diſcharged any Market to be kept on Monday, the reaſon was, becauſe it occaſioned the travelling of men and horſe the Lord's day before, which profaned the Sabboth. If the Tradeſmen, who found at home what loſſe they had by wanting their Market, had not with force and violence oppoſed their Soveraignty, and made them forſake it, it was like enough to have paſſed, and obtained longer.

The moſt active in this caſe were the Shooe-makers, who were moſt prejudiced by the diſcharge of the Monday market. They threatned the Miniſterie Right down, that if they perſiſted in that courſe, they would thruſt them out of the gates of the City: which threats reſtored the Monday's market. When King *Iames*, that miracle of piety, learning, and Royall prudence, heard of this, he with uncovered head, and lifted up hands, ſaid to this, or much about this ſenſe, *I thank God the Shooe-makers have more power to repreſſe the inſolency and violence of the Presbyterie, than I and my councell both.*

The Presbyterie will not ſuffer Landlords to ſue for their Rents.

It is knowne to many yet living, that they have cited before them Noble men, and Gentlemen of good qualitie, who had intended civill actions againſt their owne Tenants before the ordinary Iudge, and diſcharged them to proſecute them any further, under the paine of Eccleſiaſticall cenſures. This was *in re civili*, in a civill buſineſſe, but *modus conſiderandi*, as they took notice of it, it was *ſpirituall*. And why? becauſe the holy Brethren pretended, this did withdraw People from their *lawfull vocations*, *bred ſtrifes* and contention amongſt Brethren, and did hinder the progreſſe of the Goſpell.

Some few of the Presbyterie tyrannize over the reſt of their poore Brethren, remove and tranſplant at pleaſure.

As the particular Miniſters of individuall Pariſhes are under them, ſo they find the tyranny of their *Archiſynagogi*, their prime leading Miniſters, in that meaſure, that their little finger is heavier then a Biſhop's whole hand and loynes. Biſhops are like to a paternall Government, chaſtiſing with Roddes; but the Presbyterians ſcourge them with Scorpions; any Lord, Knight, or Eſquire, who is cunning, and can by faire carriage, or otherwiſe, gaine favour or credit with ſome few *Patriarchall Presbyters*, he is able at pleaſure to turne out an honeſt man (who perhaps is too free in rebuking the Gentleman for his ſinnes, or cannot, or will not condeſcend to grant his unlawfull and unjuſt demands) and to bring in one to his owne fanſie and humor, with whom, and by whom, he is able to worke and effectuate his owne bad intendments. This *holy Sanhedrim*, although the Parochiall Miniſter for *intellectuall abilities*, be ſufficiently enabled, and for *morall Integrity* be blameleſſe, yet they will find it fit he be tranſplanted from that Church, becauſe the Congregation is not edified by him, at a viſitation the Landlord is able to make all ſay and witnes they are not edified by him: or if a Presbyter who hath more power with the *dominus Moderator*, and his aſſiſtants, being in a Pariſh of a ſmall ſtipend, and eſpying ſomewhere a better Pariſh, and an honeſt man in it, but not ſo much reſpected by the high Prieſts of the *Sanhedrim*, he will turne him out by the Presbytery, enter the charge, and reape the benefit of a better Pariſh, and place the other (it may be, and often proves ſo, the better and worthier man) in another Pariſh of leſſe worth, and deterior his condition. There needs no other reaſon for this, but that this ſacred Conſiſtorie, directed and aſſiſted with infallibility, doe find it *e Re Eccleſiæ*, that it is for God's glory and the good of the Church.

I might

I might instance a world of these Examples; onely let me tell you one of the Presbytery of *Couper in Fife*. A noble man there having one Maister *Weymis*, an honest man, a Preacher and Parson at one of the Churches, the which whole parish belonged to the Noble-man, used all the entreaties, all the threatnings he could, to perswade Master *Weymis* to make over to him, and his house, the Right of the benefice, which if I mistake not, was a Parsonage. The good man refused it: the Noble man finding the man immoveable, having prepared the way with the *Ring-leaders*, accuseth the honest man before the Presbyterie, obtaineth sentence of removing Maister *Weymis* from that Church and benefice, and bringeth in one M. *Scrogie*, who with the consent of the Presbyterie, sacrilegiously made over the Right of the Church to the Noble man and his Family. M. *Weymis* was transplanted to another Church. The Right made over by *Scrogie* was afterwards confirmed by Act of Parliament. King *James*, when this noble man came to him, spoke to him to this sense. My Lord, I wonder how you have so much power with the Presbyterie to obtain such a thing, and work so strange a matter, I pray you teach me the way, for I would gladly know it. The Noble man answered, to this sense or much about it, Sir, you take not the right way, I prepared my business, by gaining the prime men to my course, I sent to A. B's house so much Malt, and to C. D's house so much Meale, to N. a Carcasse of Beefe, this got me the power to put away *Weymis*, to bring in *Scrogie*, and from him, with the consent of the Presbyterie, to have the right of the Parsonage impropriate to me and my house: Sir, this course you must take, if you would work any thing by, or with these men.

A honest man removed frō his place, and one by them brought in to make away Sacrilegiously the Church patrimonie.

The Teſtament of a Gentleman of Wit, and more then ordinary worth and eſteeme, is to this day extant, (although he dyed many yeares agoe) wherein confeſſing his many Sinnes (he was much guilty of uncleanneſſe, and was of more then ordinary reach in Politicall and Subtile waies) abhorring himſelfe for them, and earneſtly begging pardon, profeſſed, and proteſted, that no ſinne did wound his conſcience ſo much, as his deep Hypocriſie, who without the true feare of God, made great ſhew of Religion where none, or little was, and to cover his ſinnes from the World, to hide his ſhame, and the better to effectuate his private deſignes, he made much of ſome few prime leading Miniſters: by doing of which, he was not challenged for his ſinnes; and was enabled to worke his other ends. This hath been, and is this day a conſtant courſe kept by all of that cutte and coate.

The Presbytery the Seminary and nurſery of Feuds.

It is known, that no Kingdom of the Kings was ſo much infeſted with Feuds, (as they call them) as that of *Scotland*: nor was there any thing more ordinary, then Neighbourly Feuds in Pariſhes, to be fought to the effuſion of much blood, partly beginning ſometimes within the Church, and ended in the Church-yard, where many times ſome were killed. And it was as ordinary to find each Presbyterie divided in their affection and courſe, according as they affected the one, or the other partie. Nor was *Scotland* ever free of Feuds, ſheathing their Swords in their Neighbours bowells, murthering one another, till a little before King *James* came into *England*; nor did ever that Kingdom enjoy ſuch Peace and Plenty, as during the time of Epiſcopacy.

Sir, by the few inſtances I have given you of many, you may ſee clearely, that Presbyterian Government is

not

not only inconsistent with Monaichie, but destructive of the Liberty of the Subjects person, and trade; encroaching upon all Authority, Soveraigne, and delegate; restraining at pleasure Causes and Suits commenced before Iudges; forbidding Execution of Iudgements obtained before the ordinarie Iudges, repealing Grants, Letters-Patents, Rights and Priviledges authorized by Law; assuming to it selfe the Civill power, exacting Civill fines, pecuniary mulcts, inflicting corporall punishments, painfull and disgracefull; defaming young, disgracing married persons; & in briefe, is against the peace of the Kingdom, of Families and neighbours. And for their Clergy or fellow Presbyters, they tyrannize over their Conscience, depose, or transplant them at pleasure, for reasons known to some few of the more active. It is proper now to speak next of

Provinciall Synods.

IN describing of which we need not to insist much: for except that the Iurisdiction is of greater extent and latitude, yet in its essentialls, constitution, and power, with the exercise of it, it is the very same.

A Provinciall Synod is the apish Imitation of a Provinciall Councell, consisting of a Metropolitane, and the Suffragan Bishops of his Province. With them, it is an associate body of the Commissioners chosen out of all the Individuall Presbyteries within the precinct of the Province. How many there be of them in the Kingdom of Scotland at this instant, I know not: but the Kingdom is divided into so many Provinces, as they in their prudence think it fittest for the Government of the Church. What it is.

If I remember right, by their *platforme of Discipline*, these

theſe Provinciall Synods are to meet twice a yeare, or oftner, *pro re natâ*.

The extent of their power.

Theſe Synodall Aſſemblies have a *ſuperintending* and overruling power over all the Presbyteries within the limits of that Province.

The caſes which fall within their Iuriſdiction.

The caſes proper to theſe Courts are, 1. All matters which doe appertain to the whole Province. 2. All References from all Presbyteries within its verge. 3. All caſes of every ſeverall Presbyterie, which were difficult, and could not there be determined. 4. The due cenſure of all what is thought to be done amiſſe in any Presbyterie within its laſh. 5. What is ordered and decreed in thoſe Provinciall Synods, tyeth all within the particular Presbyteries and Pariſhes, as well Lay as Clergy-men to obedience. Any Presbytery elſe, that moveth without the ſpheare of this Province, is not tyed to obey what this decrees, by virtue of any authority flowing from it.

The politick Stratagem of the great *Gamaliels*.

The ſame courſe is holden in all things in the *Provinciall* Sanhedrim, which is kept in the Presbyteriall Conſiſtory, ſo that I need not trouble you by reſuming and repeating the like: only here is ſome peece and uſe of good Policy, which is this; In a Province, there may be ſome foure or five, or ſix, or more knowing leading Miniſters, who overrule different & diſtant Presbyteries, & ſo cannot formally & fairely joyne their wits and power to compaſſe their common and private ends. The meeting of this Provinciall Synod occaſioneth the meeting of thoſe leading men in the ſame place; who after that they have communicated Counſells, and agreed upon the courſe, they are able to draw their brethren, their pupils of their Faction, as *Servum pecus*, ſlaviſhly, yet *with much Zeale* to diſpute, debate, and voyce for what they in their wiſdome think fit

for

for their own ends: which course layed downe, will be so prevalent, that if it be against King, Country, Preacher, or Lay-men, in that concerneth the publike, or any private mans interest, to whom they stand engaged, it is to as little purpose to some good men to oppose, or moderate this course, as to a man to stop a current of a flood, after a great inundation of raine, with his foot.

There is another trick of policy too, whereby the *Apostles* of this province advance their own credit, that the wisest of the Nobility and Gentry see who are the active and doing men, and having their particular interest many times, both in the publike, and their own private, they make their addresse to these Popes, gaine them to their course, and strengthen themselves by the Spirituall Sword to distur be the publike, or to gain their private ends, whether right or wrong. When the Commissioners from hence returne to their severall Presbyteries, they intimate to them, to command the particular Ministers to Preach in their parishes Doctrine tending to the advancement of those designes: and this is so much obeyed, that the Minister of the Kings family, or Parish, must sing the same song, although it concerne the King in His Honour, or in that is most deare to him, and be to the prejudice of his Person, Soveraignty and Government.

The great honour which is given to the Patriarchall Presbyters.

These ἀρχηγοὶ, these *prime men of God*, are attended and honored so by the subtle and cunning Nobles and Gentlemen, that they are well nigh deified; in their comming to and fro, to Assemblies, Presbyteries, or upon other occasions, the most eminent of the Province wait upon them, entreat them to come to their Houses, set them at the head of the Tables by my Lady, provide for them the best chambers. And that you may know, howsoever they

they pretend Parity, that it is *protestatio contra factum*, never Bishop in Scotland hath come into Cities with such Convoyes, been attended with such great personages, as some of this holy Brotherhood. It is to this day remembred, that when Mr *Robert Bruce* came from his visitation in the West, or South, returning to *Edenburgh*, and entring by the Canon-gate, King *James* looking out at His Window in His palace at *Halyrude House*, with indignation (which extorted from him an Oath) said, Mr *Robert Bruce I am sure intends to be King, and declare himselfe heire to King Robert the Bruce.*

The presumptuous carriage of M. *R. Bruce* toward K. *James*,

If you would allow me upon this to digresse, I beg to be bold to tell you a true story, & the most insolent I beleeve you ever read or heard. When Q. *Elizabeth* was waxed old K. *James* bethinking how to come at the peaceable possession of that Right God and nature had entitled him to after her death; & resolving to recall & pardon the Earles of *Angus*, *Huntlie*, and *Erroll*, (who at that time were banished and beyond Seas) feared, if by himselfe, and his Soveraignty, he should doe it, because they were professed Papists, he feared the Church would except against it, and move his Subjects to Sedition and Rebellion: yet the Noble men were most able to strengthen him, and doe him best service in the Kingdom. To prevent this mischiefe, he sent one of his trusted and worthie Courtiers to Mr *Robert Bruce*, one of the Ministers of *Edenburgh*, who at that time had great sway in the Church, desiring him to come to His Majesty about some businesse of high concernment. Mr *Robert* did come. The good admirable King, welcomed him more then courteously, took him into his Retiring or Bed-chamber. Spoke powerfully to this sense; M. *Robert*, I have sent for you to have your advice

vice in a buſineſſe of great weight concerning the Peace of *Scotland* and *England*, and which concernes me in Right and Honour moſt nearly. Q. *Elizabeth*, my Siſter and Couſin, is ſick and cannot live long, you know I have God's and Nature's Right to that Crowne; I cannot looſe it in Honour or in Iuſtice, and yet my prayer to God is that I may come at my Right without any blood. I know there is ſome Faction in *England* againſt me, but my friends are more prevalent there. It concerneth me in the poynt of Prudence, to provide that there be no Faction and diviſion in this my Kingdom of *Scotland*, for if this Kingdome be all one way for me in hearty obedience and Subjection, the diſaffected party in *England* will be better adviſed, then to worke me trouble to their great diſadvantage. Now, ſaith the beſt and wiſeſt of Kings, I feare nothing, but that theſe three Noble men beyond Seas, becauſe of their forfeiture, may be wrought upon by Papiſts, encouraged and enabled by them there, and the Engliſh Papiſts, who are moſt againſt my comming to the Crowne of *England*, knowing I am a ſound Proteſtant, to come hither and trouble Me and the Peace of this Kingdom. Doe you not think it fit, that I give them a pardon, reſtore them to their Honour and Lands, and by ſo doing ſo gain them, that thus I may ſave the effuſion of Chriſtian blood? To this demand ſo piouſly made, the anſwer was, Sir, you may pardon *Angus* and *Arroll* and recall them, but it is not fit, nor will you ever obtain my conſent to pardon or recall *Huntlie*. To this the moſt gratious King ſweetly replied: Mr *Robert*, it were better for me to pardon and recall him, and not the other two, then the other two without him. 1. Firſt, becauſe you know he hath a greater command, and is more powerfull then both

of them. 2. Next you know I am more assured of his affection to me, for he hath married my deare and neare Kinswoman, the Duke of *Lenox* his Sister. His rejoynder was, Sir, I cannot agree to it. The King out of the great depth of His wisdome and prudence, and His transcendent goodnesse, concluded thus; M. *Robert* I have imparted my most secret thoughts to you first before any, and to you only; I am so confident of your zeale and good affection to Me and My Honour, that I entreat you to think upon this matter a day or two; and after your better thoughts and Prayers, returne to me, and tell me clearly what you think. Thus was he dismissed with as much respect as the King could give to any of His highest Subjects. The truth is, at this time this man had more power in *Edenburgh* then the King; and his credit there had a mighty influence upon all His Sect, and many in the Kingdom; within a day or two he Returnes to His Majesty, yet, if I be informed right, not till he was called upon. When he entred the Kings Presence-chamber, the King took him in to a secret retiring roome as before, made the doore be shut, and speaketh to this sense: Now M. *Robert*, I hope you have thought more seriously upon that weighty businesse I proposed to you the last day, and have prayed God to direct you and Me both, tell me then what you think of my purpose and resolution concerning those three Noblemen. He returneth this answer; Sir, the more I think of it, the more I am confirmed in the advice I gave to you the last day. I agree with all my heart that you recall *Angus* and *Arroll*, but for *Huntlie* it cannot be. The King resumed and repeated his reasons before mentioned, and added some more. He obstinately opposed and contradicted it. All doe know, who knew any thing of these times, that

that *Angus* and *Arroll* were as bigot Papists, if not more, then *Huntlie*; there was no difference in Religion: the truth is, Master *Bruce* was a Lover of the Earle of *Argyle*, who loved not much the Earle of *Huntlie*. This was the Spirit inspired him, as it seemeth. King *James* desired his reasons: he gave none, but spoke Majestically. Then the King told him downeright, M. *Robert* I have told you my purpose; you see how nearely and highly it concerneth me; I have given you my reasons for my resolution, you give me your opinion, but you strengthen it not with reason; wherefore I will hold my own resolution, and doe as I first spoke to you. To the which, with Christian and Subject-like reverence, he returned this reply; well, Sir, you may doe as you list, but chuse you, *yee shall not have me and the Earle of Huntlie both for you.* Sir, Iudge by this in what case Monarchie is, in such a government, for that this is truth, I am as much assured of, as morall certainty can assure any man of morall truth, which with his own eares he hath not heard. And yet this man was but Minister of *Edenburgh*.

To returne thither, from whence we digressed, that you may know, that this great Honour which is done to those great ones, the Cabinet Councell of all Provinciall and Generall Assemblies, by these cunning and subtile Nobles and others, is not done in the *name of a Disciple, in the name of a Prophet*; reflect a little with your eyes, and consider how the same men respect and entertain their own Parish Minister; when the *Gamaliels* sits *by my Lady*, the Parish Priest, will be below the Candlestick; and will be forced to come to his Lord, or Laird, and *Crouch* down for *a morsell of Bread, and small peece of Money*. Nay before the *Gamaliel* be gone, he must prompt and Catechise

The Country honour not these Apostles in the name of a Disciple, as it appeareth by the disrespect all other Ministers have from their Parishioners.

chiſe the poor ſtipendiarie how to carry himſelfe with the Lord and Laird, not to exact too rigorouſly what is due in his *competent Stipend*, nor in Preaching, doctrine or diſcipline, to offend the Lord or Laird: ſuch good Chriſtians, ſuch *Iehoſhua's*, *Nehemia's*, and *Eſdras's*, are to be much made of for the cauſe of God. I dare to ſay, never Biſhop or Archbiſhop in *England* or *Scotland*, hath uſed more authority, nor did ever carry themſelves ſo arrogantly towards the meaneſt of their Clergy, as theſe men doe over their ſimpler brethren. I come now at laſt to

The Generall Aſſembly.

The prerogative of this Court.

THis is the *Great and High Sanhedrim*, the *laſt reſolution* of faith is almoſt in this aſſociate body. Here Chriſt ſits in the Higheſt glory and Dignity he can upon earth. Here is the *ultimate deciſion* of all controverſies. Here you may find really that fancied infallibility of the Pope. The Iuriſdiction in this is univerſall in all concerneth *Eccleſiaſtica*, *Eccleſiaſticos*, and what concerneth all *Temporalia in ordine ad Spiritualia*.

The independent Soveraignty of it.

The authority of it is ſoveraigne, independent from any, derived to them by truſt immediatly from Chriſt, to him alone they are accountable. Whoſoever obeyeth not this Soveraignty, is to be Excommunicate; the Magiſtrate is at their Command, and as they preſcribe, to puniſh in Eſtate, in Body, in Life and Death; If the King obey not, He is to be Excommunicated; and to ſtrengthen this, the Nobility, Gentry, Collective body, nay euery individuall perſon is to concurre to compell and cenſure him to the utmoſt of his power, to puniſh, to dethrone, to unKing, to kill &c. Let us come and ſee how this goodly Iudicatorie is made up.

It

It is composed, 1. First, of the Commissioners sent from all the Presbyteries of the Kingdom. Which (as I heare and am informed) is thus ordered. Every Presbytery sendeth out two Preaching Elders, and a Lay-Elder. By this it seemeth that the Clergy hath the advantage. 2. Secondly, therefore consider, that besides the Commissioners from Presbyteries, there cometh from every Borrow and Corporation one Commissioner, and *Edenburgh*, for some spirituall prerogative no doubt, is honoured and priviledged to send two. 3. Thirdly, the Universities and Colledges send their Commissioners, which for the most part are not Doctors nor Ministers, but Lay-Men and Graduates in Liberall Arts and Sciences. This will goe neare to equall the number of Lay-Commissioners to that of Preaching Ministers.

Of whom, and how it is composed.

4 The King is a member constituent to, and should be there either *personally* by himselfe, or *virtually* and *representatively*, in, or by his Commissioner. He hath one voyce too, and that *affirmative* only. In what Capacity they admit the King to be a member constituent of this Spirituall Court, I know not well if they be agreed upon it. Some hold, that he is there as *Princeps membrum*. By this I see he is the first gentleman there, and it may be, hath the right hand too. Some say, as a Representative of the Civill body of the Kingdome, & sits there in that capacity. All of them agree in this, that he is bound by his own presence, or Commissioners, to see and provide that no disturbance or violence be offered.

How the King is a member of it, and of no power above the meanest Ruling Elder.

The King, if present, and His Commissioner, if absent, have so much honour indulged to him, that He or His Commissioner may have foure, five, or six *assistants* for advice: but these Synodicall Fathers give their indulgen-

ces with such circumspect prudence, that to preserve Christ's honour, and their owne entire, the King, or His Commissioner may debate and advise with His Councell, or Assistants, or desire any of them to speak, while matters are in *debating*; But when it commeth to the decision and determination by voyces, and plurality of voyces maketh the decree, the King has *onely one voyce*, and that *affirmative* onely, not *Negative*.

The King must execute their commands, although they be against His Conscience.

By this it is certaine, that if the greater part of voyces determine contrary to the King's voyce, nay to His mind and Conscience, He is bound to put it in Execution, for *Potestas Iuris* is radically in the whole Assembly, the King hath no more but *Potestatem Facti*, to be an Executioner *Rei Iudicatæ*, of the decrees; otherwise He is censurable, and if He be obstinately refractory, He is not worthy to hold His Crowne.

The King presides too, as they confesse; but so, that it is onely civilly, and in His civill capacity.

If I be not mistaken, yet I dare not avouch this confidently, the King hath not Power to propose any thing spirituall, or that concerneth the Church; but if He doe it, it must be done by the Right Father of the Assembly, the *Moderator*. This I dare to say, that neither the King, nor His Commissioner can hinder or oppose the proposing of any thing they think concerneth the Kingdome of Iesus Christ. For this were no *free generall Assembly*, and to limit the *holy one of Israell*. Nay if the thing proposed conceived by them to be Spirituall, be so twisted with the things civill, that the ordering or establishing of it may carry along with it a change and distemper in the State and Government, or import danger to the King and Crowne, The Moderator, or any Commissioner hath power to propose

poſe it, determine it, and never to conſider or reflect upon the danger of King, State, or Kingdome, and that for God and Chriſt's glory.

The proper, naturall, and right Preſident of this Seraphicall Iudicatorie, is one of the Preaching Elders (although we obſerved before, how Lay-men, as *Buchanan*, *Melvil*, *Bruce*, have been Moderators) a Lay-Elder now cannot be Moderator. The proper Moderator is a Preacher.

Here is the Legiſlative power, here is the Soveraignty of Chriſts Kingdome, here is the higheſt Tribunall and Iudicatory of Chriſt upon the Earth, from which no perſon, no office, no condition of creature is priviledged, from it lyeth no appeale.

The King hath no Power to appoint the time or place of this Aſſembly, but once a yeare it muſt neceſſarily meet. And at the cloſe of every Aſſembly, the Preſent appointeth the day and place for the next. If any great Exigencie really, or in their fanſie intervening, requireth the meeting of a generall Aſſembly before the time determined, the Commiſſioners from the Aſſembly are to make remonſtrance of it unto the King. They indict the Aſſembly by their owne power.

Whatſoever power the Pope unjuſtly uſurpeth, The Catholick Church, or *her virtuall and Repreſentative*, an œcumenicall councell, juſtly challengeth; this generall Aſſembly vindicateth to it ſelfe, onely *Authoritativé, by way of authority*, within the Church of the Kingdome and Nation; yet *Conſenſivé, and Charitativé*, to extend to all Neighbour Churches in the World; whatever it be that concerneth, *fidem, cultum, Regimen*, &c. *credenda, agenda*. The vaſt power of this Court.

And yet if this infallible Supreame Iudicatorie would reſerve to it ſelfe that juriſdiction is due to men in Sacred Orders, and which intrinſecally, radically, and originally

is in

is in them *ex vi ordinis*, although Presbyters intrude upon higher callings, and they place all Ecclesiasticall power, at least communicate it to Lay People, the Princes condition were tolerable: Nay if they did onely trench upon what is due to Soveraignty, and with which He is invested from God Almighty, which is restrained *ad Externum hominem*, and *Externum Regimen*, although Soveraignty by it be brought into straiter & narrower bounds, a King might be in some poor condition, although Robbed of His Right. But when they come to this, that *in ordine ad spiritualia*, in order to spirituall things they will give the King Lawes, repeale His Lawes, command and expect performance and obedience, otherwise excommunicate, and if a King neglect that Excommunication, incite inferiour Magistrates, Nobles, and Commons, to bring Him in order, to compell and force him; He is in a worse condition under this Soveraignty, then under the Pope, by how much it is worse to a King to be subjected to an untamed furious Beast, the multitude, then to the tyranny of one.

Lay-men judges in highest points of faith and worship, &c.

All these Lay-Elders, all these Commissioners from Corporations and Burrowes, are *de jure divino* as fully Iudges in all matters of faith, worship, government, Iudges of hæresie, idolatry, superstition, of the highest points of Orthodox and Catholick mysteries, of the grossest and subtilleſt Hæresies, Arianisme, Arminianisme, Macedonianisme, Montanisme, Socinianisme, Anabaptisme, *&c.* as any man in sacred Orders there, have *vocem deliberativam*, *vocem decisivam*, have a debating, discussive voyce, and concurre as much with the influence of their voyce to prescribe and give us *Normam fidei, cultûs, politiæ*, a confession of faith, a prescript for worship, Canons for government

vernment and diſcipline, as ever Biſhops had in lawfull Chriſtian Councells. Biſhops, limbes and members of Antichriſt, are no part of it. Now is forgotten that of the Councell of *Chalcedon*, *Concilium Epiſcoporum eſt*; and that old Barbarous, but Chriſtian enough verſe,

Ite foras Laici, non eſt vobis locus yci.

I would gladly aske of one of theſe Rabbies and great Maſters in *Iſraell*, how commeth it that the Commiſſioners of *Burrowes* ſit there, voyce there? are they too *de jure divino*, by divine right? If they anſwer, that ſuch are choſen as are, or have been Lay-Elders; I rejoyne; the Lay-Elders come in that capacity onely, as Commiſſioners of the particular Presbyteries: Theſe are not members conſtituents of the Presbyterie in that capacity, that they are, or have been Lay-Elders, but have right and intereſt in this high Court in that *capacity* meerly, as Commiſſioners of Burrowes. Look upon their acts of generall Aſſembly, and you will find, that it authorizes Commiſſioners from Burrowes to be parts conſtituent of this Iudicatory, *quâ tales*, as ſent from the Burrowes.

Commiſſioners of Burrowes are there onely in a Lay-capacity.

Againe I aske, ſeeing you make Doctors one of your four holy Functions Eccleſiaſticall, conſtituted by Chriſt, in what Iudicatorie find we them? In Seſſions they are not; In few Presbyteries they be; and if there, in ſome other capacitie. In generall Aſſemblies, if any be, they appeare as Commiſſioners from the Vniverſity, in this capacity onely. And many times it is ſeen, that Profeſſors of Philoſophie have been Commiſſioners of Colledges in generall Aſſemblies.

We find Doctors no where.

Leaving theſe abſurdities, which are monſtrouſly groſſe, I come to conſider next, what is the Soveraigne power of this high *Sanhedrim*. If they would in Chriſtian

The power which this Sanhedrim aſſumeth to it ſelfe.

an moderation assume no more to themselves, but onely a *directive power*, and by humble Remonstrances and supplications, with that reverence is due to Soveraignty and Majesty, Petition the King to animate their Acts, Canons, and Constitutions with the influence of his legislative power, this were faire quarter. But by your favour, no sooner have they *enacted* it here, and so soon as it is solemnly *intimated*, which is, by returning to every Presbytery, with it's Commissioners, a Copie of the Acts, Orders and Ordinances, and by the Presbyterie's order every Minister hath published them in the Parish Church; all things so done are animated with a *Potestative power*, by the influence these orders receive from that *Legislative power* Christ hath entrusted them with in *his œconomicall Kingdome*. All then are bound to obedience, if it be in the meanest indifferent thing, nay if this order crosse or repeale a standing Law, all disobedients are liable to all Ecclesiasticall censures, and may forthwith be proceeded against even till they *be delivered over into the hands of the Divell*.

They are above the King, and all Soveraignty.

This *Assembly* is above the King, to them he ought to give an account of his faith; to their Confession of faith he must conforme himselfe; to their orders he must give obedience; otherwise he is excommunicable, deposable. I feare you scarce beleeve me: yet truely *non verenda retego, sed inverecunda confuto*. I discover not the nakednesse of Father, the shame of Brother, nor friend; would to God the tenets and practices were buried in hell, and the maintainers regained to God by true repentance, and forsaking their wayes: I discover onely things that are past all shame, and which our Church can never owne. Sir, if you will hardly beleeve me in this, let me give you their

assertions

aſſertions in this caſe, and their conformable practice.

It is their conſtant Catholicke tenet, that if the King, Queene, Regent or Protector, or whoſoever he or ſhe is, in whoſe Perſon Soveraignty is fixed, or in whoſe Perſon it is repreſentatively fixed, onely by a fiduciary truſt, during the non-age of the Prince or Princeſſe; will not ſubmit himſelfe to this holy Scepter, will not according to it's preſcript, reforme Religion, preſerve it in it's integrity, any man or men are bound to doe it at their direction. If ſpare *Martin. Junior's* faith in this, that there is no authority above the Brotherhood. "*No Magiſtrate* "(*ſaith he*, Theſ: 17.18.22.) *may lawfully mayme or de-* "*forme the body of Chriſt, which is the Church; no lawfull* "*Church Government is changeable, at the pleaſure of the* "*Magiſtrate; of neceſſity all Chriſtian Magiſtrates are* "*bound to receive this government.* Nor will I inſiſt upon *Vigginton's* aſſertion; That "*what the Holy Brother-* "*hood cannot obtaine by ſuite and diſpute, the People muſt* "*bring it to paſſe.* You deſire the tenets and practices of the Church of *Scotland* onely. If they cannot reforme by the King, they may by any other meanes elſe.

The *Scot's* maintaine, that if the King, or Queene, will not reforme Religion, they may take upon them by violence and power to reforme it. This they have learned of their grand-father *Knox*, as you may read in an Epiſtle of his written from *Deepe. Anno.* 1557. and in *Knox Hiſtor. pag.* 213. what is lawfull for Reformation, is lawfull for preſervation of Religion. Religion may be reformed or preſerved by violence.

1. And here they begin with the Nobles: and determine right downe, *Noble men ought to Reforme Religion, if the King will not. Knox, app.* 25. againe, *that God hath appointed the Nobility to bridle the inordinate appetites of Princes, and in ſo doing, they cannot be accuſed, as reſiſters* If the King will not, the Nobles may.

of authority. Knox, Hiſt. 343. and, *that it is their duty to repreſſe the rage and inſolency of Princes.* Knox, app. 33.

If neither King nor Nobles, the people may.

2. In the ſecond place, if the Nobles will not doe, *the People and Commonaltie may reforme Religion, at the order and direction of the Brotherhood.* Knox, *to the Commonalty.* fol. 49. 50. *The Commonaltie, by their power, may bridle the cruell beaſts;* (They meane Prieſts and Prelates) *Knox to the Commonalty.* fol. 55. *The Commonalty may lawfully require of their Soveraigne to have true Preachers, and if he be negligent, they may themſelves provide them, maintaine them, defend them, againſt all that doe perſecute them, and may detaine the profits of the Church livings from the other ſort;* That is to ſay, Prieſts, Papiſts, Prelates, and Malignants. *Knox* to the Commonalty. *fol.* 55.

If Nobles & Commons joyne, there is hope of ſome greater ſucceſſe.

3. In the third place, if they come to the happineſſe to have Nobles and Commons obedient to their commandements, for reformation, or preſervation of true Religion (which muſt be ſo as they fanſie) I am deceived, if they allow not more violence, and eſteeme it more piety, zeale, and juſtice. Their tenets are. *The Commonalty concurring with the Nobles, may compell the Biſhops to ceaſe from their tyranny.* Knox to the Commonalty. fol. 47. againe, *The Nobility and Comminalty, ought to reforme Religion, and in that caſe may remove from honours, and may puniſh ſuch as God hath condemned,* Deut. 13. *Of what eſtate, condition, or honour ſoever.* Knox, app. fol. 28. 30.

Inferiour Magiſtrates and people may joyne.

4. In the fourth place, if the Nobles will not joyne with the People or Commonalty in the reformation, or preſervation of true Religion, at the direction of the Miniſtery, the inferior Magiſtrates may, and ſhould doe it. *Knox, Hiſt. p.* 217.

5. In

5. In the fifth place, before ſo good a worke be not done, if Nobles, or the whole, or greateſt part of the Commonalty will not be obedient, aſſiſting, and aydding to ſo good a work; Every individuall man and perſon is bound to advance this good work, to kill Papiſt, Prieſt, Prelate, Malignant, nay a King, if He ſtand out an Enemy to God, and Chriſt, and cannot otherwiſe be reclaimed, or removed, nor by ſuite, or diſpute gained to the right way, (I dare ſay their doctrine leads to this) ſee *Knox app. fol.* 30. where roundly he ſaith, *The puniſhment of ſuch crimes as touch the Majeſty of God, doth not appertaine to Kings and chiefe Rulers onely, but alſo to the whole body of the People, and to every member of the ſame, to revenge the injury done againſt God.* Againe ſee him fol. 35. *The People are bound by oath to God, to revenge, to the utmoſt of their power, the injury done againſt God's Majeſtie.* To this purpoſe they alleadge the examples of *Phineas*, who in his zeale killed the adulterers: of *Ehud*, who in the ſame zeale killed *Eglon* in his private Chamber, (remember he was a King.) Of *Iael*, who killed *Siſera:* of *Matathias*, who in zeale killed a Iew for committing of Idolatry; and who in the ſame zeale at the ſame time killed the King's Commiſſioner. Sir, put theſe things together, and ſee where this Soveraigne ſupreame Eccleſiaſticall Iudicatory hath ſuch dominion and power over mens conſciences, that being directed by their Miniſterie, they are bound to doe to the utmoſt of their power for reformation and preſervation of Religion, what ſacred Perſon of any King can be ſecured? what man offending againſt the Majeſty of God (which is as they fanſie many times) may not be taken away by one like to a *Ravilliack?* what Commiſſioner or Counſellor of the King but in doing his beſt ſervice to

Every individuall in this good worke, may, & ought to the utmoſt of his power, to intend and endeavour reformation.

his Maiſter, he may be ſtoned like to *Adoram*, and all this goe in popular eſteeme currant for good ſervice and extraordinary zeale to God and his cauſe.

All, or as many as are well affected, may covenant and combine for doing this work.

6. In the ſixth place upon thoſe grounds Covenants and Confederacies come in to ſtrengthen all, to joyne purſes, perſons, wit, and ſtrength, *contra omnes mortales, Regiâ Majeſtate non exceptâ*, againſt King and Biſhop, Prince and Prelate, to the defence of the good cauſe; with a combination, every one to be ayding, aſſiſting and maintaining one another in ſo good a cauſe.

The Confederats may by themſelves give Orders.

7. In the laſt place commeth their Orders for reformation or preſervation, and that by themſelves and the collective body, or any aſſociates whatſoever, without reſpect, reverence or obedience to the Soveraign authority of the Prince.

Practiſes upon the tenets.

The practice is cleerly ſeen in Mr *Knox* his proceedings, for after that by his Letter, which we mentioned before written to Scotland *Anno*, 1557. from *Deepe*, and otherwiſe he had infuſed the above named principles into many, an oath of confederacy was taken amongſt them, and ſubſcription under their hands to ſome agreement. This gave life to that tumultuary reformation, much ſtrength being added to it, by the concurrence of the Sacrilegious, hoping thus to ſwallow up the Church revenews. which is more then certain was againſt *Knox* his mind, and the firſt reformers. As we deplore great loſſes the Church had by this reformation, and doe thank God heartily for his admirable bounty and mercy in the good of truth we got by it, yet we will never wrong Reformed Religion ſo much as to account of that as an orderly reformation, we deny not but it was attended with much Sedition Faction and Rebellion.

Anno

Anno 1558. without the authority of Soveraignty, nay without the knowledge of it, these confederates, at the direction of their Ministery prescribe orders for Reformation of Religion to be observed and practised throughout the whole Kingdom. See *Knox* storie pag. 217. 2 8.

Orders of Reformation prescribed without the authority of Soveraignty.

They goe farther, they writ an Imperious Letter to the Religious houses, in the *name of the Congregation*, commanding all of them to remove from thence against such a day, or then they would eject them by force. *Knox* ib.

They charge their adverse party to obey their Orders.

Within very short time after, a Parliament being holden by the Queen Regent, (Queen *Maries* mother, and great Grandmother to our gratious Soveraign) they make a Protestation, that except they had their desires, they would goe on in their intended course of Reformation, that neither they, nor any that joyned with them, should incurre therefore any danger in life, or lands, or other Civill Penalties, and that if any violence hapned in pursuit of those matters, they should thank themselves. It is very observable they were all bound in that confederacie to assist and strengthen each other in that course. See *Knox* Hist. pag. 256. First, here you have the direction of the Ministery. Next, you have a confederacy and bond of mutuall defence. Thirdly, you have Orders and Decrees agreed upon in common. Fourthly, you have warrants issued out to make or force all to be put in execution. Fiftly, you have a Protestation, and that a threatning one too, against the Queen Regent and whole Parliament. Sir, are those things consistent with Monarchie? what Scripture? what Father? what practice of the Church doth warrant such a reformation?

They protest against King and Parliament.

Come on, and you shall have them anon in open contemning Soveraign Authority. The Queen Regent to

They contemne Soveraign authority.

suppresse

ſuppreſſe theſe beginnings, and to nip them in the bud, cites them to appeare at *Stirling*. They appeare not. They are outlawed: all men under pain of Treaſon are inhibited to aſſiſt them. There is no obedience, but all in the confederacie adhere to them. I cannot, for my part, juſtify this divinity.

They uſurpe Royall power.

From diſobedience and contempt, they are guilty of uſurping the Royall power. for very ſhortly after, *anno* 1559. Immediatly after a Sermon Preached by *Knox* in *Saint-Iohnſtowne*, at his exhortation and direction, they fall to the pulling downe of the Religious Houſes, and within two or three daies equall three of them to the ground. Sir, can it appeare that by Holy Writ or Reaſon ſuch Popular tumultuary reformations are warrantable? Is it not intrinſecally inherent in the Crown or whereſoever ſoveraignty is fixed? And ſo they proceeded in *Fife*, *Angus*, *Mornis*, *Stirling*, *Lowthian &c.* and through the whole Kingdom. See *Knox* Hiſt. p. 263. Here were many goodly and Rich Churches Spoyled, Robbed, and caſt downe.

They renounce their lawfull Soveraigne.

After this they diſclaim Soveraign authority, except it be as they pleaſe, and have their deſires. The Queen Regent threatned S. *Iohnſtowne* where this diſorder firſt was acted. They of the confederacy writ to her in plain termes, "*that except She ſtayed from that cruelty, they ſhould be* "*compelled to take the Sword of Iuſt defence, and protected,* "*that, without the reformation which they deſired, they* "*would never be Subject to any mortall man.* See *Knox* pag. 265.

They command all the Brotherhood to be aſſiſtants.

More followed. By a Letter they cite all their Brethren to repaire unto them. and that you may know that their Letters were authoritative commands, and that all the

the authority is from the *independent Soveraignty of the Church*, consider how they write to the Nobility upon paine of Excommunication to joyne with them. *Knox ibid. pag.* 268, 269, 272.

How much this Eccleſiaſticall Soveraignty did exalt it ſelfe above the civill, is more then apparent in this, that when an Herald in his coat of armes, commanded all men under pain of Treaſon to returne to their houſes, by publique ſound of Trumpet in *Glaſgow* no man obeyed that charge, but went forward to their aſſociates, *Habes confitentem reum*, Knox.pag.274. They are obeyed, the Queenes Herald is abuſed.

They denounce Warre too, which was ever judged to be the peculiar ſpecifick prerogative of Soveraignty, for they writ to the Biſhops and Clergy, that except they deſiſted from dealing againſt them, *They would, with all force and power, execute juſt vengeance and puniſhment upon them: and that they would begin the ſame warre, which God commanded Iſraell to execute againſt the Cananites.* Which manner of proceeding, they termed a reſiſting of the Enemy. *Knox. Hiſt.* 275, 276. They denounce warre againſt their adverſaries.

The poor Queen Regent was brought to an Accommodation, and the Aſſembly at St-*Johnſtowne* was diſmiſſed. But there parting they entered into a League by Oath, that if any one Member of their *Congregation* (this in the Scottiſh is Equivalent to *Eccleſia*) ſhould be troubled, they ſhould all *concurre, aſſiſt and convene againe together, for the defence of the ſame.* Knox.pag.283. They will heare of no Peace, but enter into a Combination for mutuall defence.

The Queen Regent finding this Soveraignty overbeare Her's, and the Peace of the Kingdom ſhaken, by a Declaration publiſhed and proclaimed, teſtified her deſire of Peace, and deſcended ſo much, that really it was onely a requeſt. They ſcorned it, would none of it, confuted it by

another, did exhort thoſe of their Faction to *encourage themſelves in the Lord*, to ſtand upon their guard like to the re-builders of *Hieruſalem* and the Temple, with the Sword in one hand and the Bible in another, wherein they gave the Queen many times the Lye, and abuſed her with reproachfull and contumelious ſpeeches. The Subjects that continue their obedience are honoured with no better tearme then to be called *the Queenes Faction*. You may read this at leiſure and pleaſure in *Knox Hiſtory. pag.* 330,333,362,364. Nay, they renounce their obedience unto Her, proteſted that whoſoever ſhould take Her part, *ſhould be puniſhed as Traitors, whenſoever God ſhould put the Sword of Iuſtice into their hands*. Knox Hiſt. p.364.

They depoſe the Queene Regent.

At laſt they riſe to the higheſt pitch of Rebellion, and *Anno*.1560. they depoſe the Queen Regent, the predetermination being given, that it was lawfull for them to do ſo, by Mr *Knox* and Mr *Wilcockes*. This is upon record yet in that Kingdome, and is ſet downe by M. *Knox* himſelfe. *Hiſt. pag.* 372,378. and it is obſervable, that the Queen, if I remember right, lived but a month, or little more, after this pious act.

The Author's modeſt opinion of that is called the firſt reformation of *Scotland*.

Sir, you will now ſay, that I ſpeak too hardly of our firſt Reformers and Reformation, and would know what is my opinion of them and it. To deale clearly, God is my witneſſe I am no Papiſt, but doe abhorre Popery as much as any, and that I am no Puritane the other party wil witneſſe for me. I am bound to ſpeak the truth in my heart, and to give ſome ſatisfaction, I ſay 1. Firſt, as I am able, I bleſſe and praiſe God moſt heartily that we were delivered from the Popes Tyranny, and that groſſe Ægyptian darkneſſe we were under: which I aſcribe to the admirable wiſedome and infinitely tranſcendent goodneſſe of God.

God. 2. Next I leave the men to God's mercy, but for the manner of proceeding, the way they took, I dare not, I will not approve it: but will say with *Iacob, in consilium eorum ne veniat anima mea.* 3. Thirdly, I daily heartily bewaile that that too too much Idolised reformation in an excessive hatred against Popery, did runn too much to the other extreame, that the goodly order and government necessary of the Church was shouldered out; the publick service and worship of God with it's decency, reverence and comlinesse was much defaced, disgraced; That goodly, stately and rich Churches, were abused, robbed and equalled to the ground; and that the Church Patrimonie was dilapidated: and yet this was not so much done by the first called Reformers, as by their Disciples, *Ætas parentum pejor avis.*

It feareth me, besides that God is punishing our present sinnes, that by this scourge, which is guilded with the specious, but spurious compellation of a *glorious thorow, second Reformation*, he is in the same justice punishing the sinnes of that first Reformation. For my part I judge verily that Church had never an orderly and warrantable Reformation, till it was happily begun and advanced by King *Iames* when he took the government in his owne hands, and was like to come to a great perfection under the government of our most gratious Soveraigne King *Charles*. Although I deny not but the seeds of truth were sowen by *Hamilton, Wisheart, Mylne* and others, who before *Knox* his time did Preach truth, cast downe the errors of *Rome* in the Peoples hearts, were farre from sturring up the Subjects against lawfull authority, and like the ancient Martyrs, did suffer patiently and seale the truth of the Gospell with their blood. If *Knox* and his Complices

had kept in this way I am certaine that Church had been more happy: nor had we ſeen ſuch Robbery and deformity in the Church. Sure I am, great, many, and more then ordinary ſinnes in them and us and our forefathers have brought us to be plunged in thoſe almoſt inextricable miſeries: And till we proportionably repent, we cannot look to ſee better dayes, what is disjoynted in ſtate ſet aright, and the beauty of God's houſe reſtored; which God of his mercy grant to us for his onely Sonne Ieſus Chriſt.

By what is ſaid, it appeares ſufficiently that this *ſpirituall Soveraignty* is farre above the King's Crowne, and what we undertook, to make their practices prove their tenets, is more then evident, onely one thing reſts to be proved, that this Soveraignty may authorize any and every private man to doe to the utmoſt of their power for the Reformation of Religion, to plunder, kill, *&c.*

Practice of miſchief done by private men, & commended by them.

Sir, I referre you to Mr *Knox* hiſtory of the Church of *Scotland, pag.* 143, 144, 145. where relating how *Cardinal Beaton* Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrew's*, (a man whom I juſtifie not neither commend much) was killed by *Norman Leſley, Iohn Leſley, Peter Carmichael* and *Iames Melvil* in his owne houſe the Caſtle of Saint *Andrew's*, who were all onely private Gentlemen, and if you will truſt *Buchanan*, the cauſe was a jarre betwixt *Norman Leſley* and the *Cardinal*; upon *Knox* faith, the quarrell was the killing of M. *George Wiſeheart* (a good man undoubtedly.) The *Cardinal* could have no mercy, although he cryed pittifully for it, ſaying, I am a Prieſt ye will not ſlay me; *Knox* I ſay relating this hiſtory commends the fact of *Iames Melvil* killing him with grave and pious words in his mouth as a godly fact. The ſumme of the ſtory is, when they entred

tred the Cardinall's chamber with ſome ſixteen or ſeventeen more, *Iohn Leſly* and *Peter Carmichaell* fell violently and paſſionatly on him, but *Iames Melvill* with gravity and piety withdrew them, and ſaid: "*This work and judge-*
"*ment of God (although it be ſecret) ought to be done with*
"*great gravitie. And preſenting unto him the poynt of the*
"*Sword, ſaid, Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but e-*
"*ſpecially of thy ſhedding of the blood of that notable inſtru-*
"*ment of God M.* George Wiſeheart, *which albeit the flame*
"*of fire conſumed before men, yet cries it a vengeance upon*
"*thee, and we from God are ſent to revenge it. For here be-*
"*fore my God I proteſt, that neither the hatred of thy perſon,*
"*the love of thy Riches, nor the feare of any trouble, thou*
"*couldeſt have done to me in particular, moved, or moveth*
"*me to ſtrike thee: but only becauſe thou haſt been and re-*
"*maineſt an obſtinate enemy againſt Chriſt Ieſus and his ho-*
ly Goſpell. And the meek man of God, as he is there termed, ſtroke him twiſe or thriſe thorow with a ſtog-ſword; and he fell. I give all this that *Iames Melvill* did this in revenge of M. *George Wiſeheart* being ſlain by the Cardinall. what Divinity will warrant this fact of *Iames Melvil's* to be a good and Godly fact (for ſo it is noted in the Margent) to a privat man to murther or kill thus a Prieſt an Archbiſhop of ſo high dignity? The reſult of all is, he did it gravely, in cold blood, told him ſo much, that he was ſent from God, he had no private end, the motive ſturred him up to this Godly fact, was, that he had been and remained at that time an enemy to Ieſus Chriſt and his holy Goſpell; he exhorted him to repentance and for all his great ſinnes, as *Knox* writes the ſtorie, he allowed him no more time, but ſo much as was ſpent in his Godly Harang: for immediatly after he was twiſe thruſt thorow. But

thoſe Seraphicall Doctors know, *Neſcit tarda molimina Spiritus Sanctus*; and the ſpirit can work ſuddenly, *Inter os & offam*; *Inter Pontem & Fontem*, eſpecially where and when they are ſent of God to doe ſuch great good works. But this is *proteſtatio contra factum*. what ever M. *Melvil* ſaid in his Proteſtation, *Knox* doth witneſſe that the Cardinall being murthered, they ſeized upon *the Artillery and Ammunition, wherewith that fortreſſe was plentifully furniſhed, and likewiſe upon the rich hangings, houſhold-ſtuffe of all ſorts, apparell, Copes, Jewels, ornaments of Churches, great ſtore of Gold and Silver Plate, beſides no ſmall quantity of treaſure in ready coyne.*

I could inſtance ſome practices about the time of the Parliament in *anno* 1621. commonly called the Marqueſſe of *Hamilton's* Parliament, but becauſe that will only reflect upon ſome particular perſons, I paſſe it willingly and wittingly.

It is moſt certain when the pious and learned Doctors of *Aberdene*, did demand of the Patriarches of this late Covenant, why they did not by Preaching, Printing, Cenſuring, or ſome reall deed expreſſe their deteſtation of that horrid fact done by the Raſcally-rout of *Edenburgh* the 23. of *Iuly* 1637. where at the firſt reading of the ſervice there, a great many Biſhops being in the Cathedrall Church, the Serving-women roſe barbarouſly within the Church, did throw their ſtooles at the Biſhop of the place, and the Deane who was officiating, did cry out moſt horribly, that the Major, Aldermen, and others within could hardly compoſe it for a long time, and the worſt and baſeſt of the People, who were without, did throw in great ſtones at the glaſſe windowes, the doores being ſhut. After the ariſing of the commotion, to prevent more

more tumult and danger, and when Service and Sermon were done, the Biſhops, Major and Aldermen going home with the Lord Chancellor and ſome BB. attending his Grace, the Biſhop, and Deane of *Edenburgh* with others were well nigh ſtoned in the ſtreets: when I ſay it was demanded of theſe Apoſtles, why they did not condemne this unchriſtian Barbarous outrage, voyd of Pietie and Reaſon, and without any example in the Chriſtian Church, the ſumme of their anſwer was, and to this day is, that ſuch a zealous people were to be left to their own warrand, they knew not by what Spirit they were governed, God worketh great workes many times by baſeſt means: and yet thoſe Nobles, thoſe zealous, thoſe intelligent and knowing Chriſtians (whereof many of them in *Edenburgh* were knowne Coale-ſtealers and Whores) were the firſt *active inſtruments in this glorious reformation*. I confeſſe this Divinity is ſo tranſcendent and Metaphyſicall, that it exceeds my capacity, and is ſo fruitfull upon any occaſion to work all or the greateſt of miſchiefes, that I doe not ſee how it can conſiſt with peace or ſafety of King, Kingdome, Church, or of any entruſted with greateſt truſt in Church or State. Sir, I believe any rationall man may ſee by this, how ſuperlatively this ſpirituall Signorie is above King and Royall Soveraignty. I leave it to your own judgement and memory to recollect it, and to bring home the concluſion, that this government Eccleſiaſticall is inconſiſtent with Monarchie, with the Peace of a Kingdome, and is or may be in time a Mother and Nurſe of as much Rebellion and Treaſon as any Ieſuitiſme of the Higheſt dye, if not more. Certainly *Rome*, although a Whore, and hath a cup of abomination in her hand, is not ſo bad nor ſo abominable;

I pray

I pray God to keep all good Christians cleane of both.

Let us goe on; In Faith, Worship, and all spirituall things they vindicate to themselves such a Soveraignty, that *King, Councell, Parliament*, nay all together, must not touch the Scepter of Christ, they are to determine, define, take cognisance, accuse, sentence, punish; neither King, nor King and Councell, nor King and Parliament, all must assume power here, for otherwise it is to intrude upon Christ and his Right.

When they demand the Royall conformation of their decrees it is only an act of courtesie.

This Soveraignty is of so high a straine, so large an extent, that when they have decreed any thing in this supream infallible Iudicatorie, that they may have the better obedience to demand the King and Parliament's approbation; This is not demanded as a thing arbitrary which the King and Parliament may doe or not doe; or leaving it to His Royall judgement with the advice of His Parliament to qualify or rectify their decrees, and orders: No, no truly; that is to betray the trust Christ hath given them, they need not supplicate or Petition for it, it is in them but an act of courtesie to shew dutifull obedience. And if the King and Parliament will not grant it, they are armed with as much power from Heaven as to force them to doe it, by Excommunication, and making all good Christians joyne with them in God's cause.

Sir, I feare you think I speake Liberally. God forbid I should doe it. I doubt not but you have read the Scotish Pope's Sermon Preached at *Westminster*, and Printed by Order of the House, since you have it; I will not spend time and Paper to cite his Words which giveth to the King no more. But to make this appeare, I give you some unanswerable reasons. 1. It is certain in Scotland M. *Knox* and his complices set on their reformation without the Queen,

Queen, or Queen Regents authority, or the autho rity of Parliament. For *anno* 1558. they made their confederacy: gave out their Orders for Reformation throughout the whole Kingdome. *anno* 1559. they acted their Reformation, by casting downe Churches, Abbyes, *&c.* casting out Priests, Friers, *&c.* and all this by their owne radicall and originall power. Queen *Mary* their true and lawfull Soveraigne did authorize them in nothing, she was then in *France*. The Queen *Dowager*, Queen Regent, King *Iames* the fifth's Widdow, having the Soveraignty by fiduciary trust, in regard of the absence of the Queen her daughter, did not authorize it, nay she did by her authority oppose it, contradict it, came in Armes against it. The Parliament was not till the yeare 1560. (how holden for the present I cannot tell) but in that Parliament they set out a confession of faith, reformed Religion: but when they sent to King and Queen beyond Seas (Queen *Mary* was then Married to *Francis* the second in *France*) to confirme or ratifie the acts thereof, they denied. When intelligence was given to the Confederates, they professed they little regarded the deniall of King and Queene, for say they (*Knox Hist. pag.* 500.) *all we did was rather to shew our dutifull obedience, then to begge of them any strength to our Religion.*

An instance. *anno.* 1559.

Another in this kind you have; In *Anno* 1571. King *Iames* then being King, and the *Earle of Marre* being *Regent*, an Assembly was holden at *Leith*, where by the Order of the Assembly, and Ordinance of the *Regent* and Councell, some Commissioners were appointed from the *Regent* and Councell, and some from the generall Assembly to condescend upon a *platforme of discipline*, which was agreed to on both sides. The *platforme* is that the Go-

Another instance, *anno.* 1571.

vernment of the Church ſhall be by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deanes and Chapters, *&c.* the order and courſe of all their Nomination, Election, *&c.* is juſt conforme to this in *England* at this day, and as it was in *Scotland* before this *new happy Reformation.* This was enrolled in the Councell Books of that Kingdom, and ſtands there to this day, this I know certainly, and if I be not deceived, and almoſt I dare ſay it, except they have wronged their moſt famous and their moſt ancient Councells, the platforme is upon Record in the *Generall Aſſembly Books.*

Give me leave to tell you by the way one thing, that the *Negative Faith,* which is *ſine rugâ, ſine maculâ,* was framed, *anno* 1580. and it is believed, that in that Negative faith Epiſcopacy is abjured as Antichriſtian; yet *anno* 1581. this ſame Government is renewed, ratified and ordained to continue conſtant, and not to be changed till His Majeſty come to perfect age, and to be kept or changed then onely in what He and His great Councell, the Parliament, ſhall think fit, and not otherwiſe. Before this the King His Houſhold and Councell had ſubſcribed the *Negative Faith;* can any man, not voyd of judgement and diſcretion, think, that the King, His Houſhold and Councell in ſubſcribing it did judge Epiſcopacy Popiſh and Antichriſtian.

Next it is worth your notice taking, that as I honour the good parts which were in *Knox* and his fellow-labourers, I never accounted them as Apoſtles men ſecured from error; yet I will ſay ſo much for their juſtification, that they were greater Enemies to Sacriledge than their after-diſciples; and were not againſt the Order of Epiſcopacy as Popiſh and Antichriſtian, as M. *Andrew Melvil* and his diſciples afterward maintained. Nor were they ſo

fooliſh

fooliſh to ſeclude all Church-men from voyce in Parliament, onely their deſire was, that ſeeing the Popiſh Biſhops were allowed to enjoy their Benefices and Rents during their life time (this was more then our charitable glorious Reformers allowed to their Proteſtant Biſhops now) with all other Priviledges except ſpirituall juriſdiction, that they ſhould not ſit in Parliament as the *repreſentative of the Church*, but in their places ſhould ſit the *Superintendents and Commiſſioners of the Church*. Which indeed were ſomewhat like to Biſhops, but reſembled more Arch-Presbyters then Biſhops.

To returne againe thither from whence we digreſſed; after that this platforme of diſcipline was ſo agreed and eſtabliſhed, as we told before, M. *Andrew Melvil* comes to *Scotland* about the yeare 1574, or 75 *ultra citra*. This man a good Hebrecian and Linguiſt, and full of the *Geneva Talmud* which was now more refined, beginneth to ſet Presbyterian diſcipline higher, to make a *ſecond book of Policy*, or *devout Imaginations*, acknowledgeth no more Orders in the Church, then the foure above named. A Biſhop was no more in Scripture but the ſame identically with Presbyter; and where Abbots and Priors to his time were nominated and admitted to the Abbies and Priories as Church-men, gave their trialls and were *collated* (as they ſpeake) by the ſuperintendents: This great Doctor found out another Divinity, that there was no Biſhop but a Pariſh Prieſt; Scripture, for Abbots and Priors there were none ſuch in God's book. At this time, and from that they call Reformation to this time, there was no Biſhoprick nor Abbie annexed to the Crowne, and conſequently not impropriate to any Subject. It is true Laymen held them *in commendam* by the King's gift, but as

They ſet on their Diſcipline by themſelves.

men able to doe the King and Church good ſervice; and before their right could be completed or perfected, they were to returne to the King from the Superintendent a *collation* or certificate, that he was of that ability to doe good ſervice to the King and Church. Men ſacrilegiouſly diſpoſed graſped greedily this doctrine, and thanked God that their names as *Abbots & Priors were not in the book of God.* And to have theſe Church livings and dignities with Biſhopricks annexed to the Crowne, and from thence to impropriate them to them and their heires, they deified M. *Melvil*, and contributed their beſt wits and uttermoſt power to raiſe Presbyteriall government higher. And by the *ſole authority of that they call the Church*, they began, without the King, Councell or Parliament's conſent or authority, to diſtribute the whole Kingdome into ſo many Presbyteries, as they thought fit in their diſcretion and by the direction of the holy Spirit: and did procure private ſubſcriptions to their new Book of Policie, and put it in practice. Sir, I hope you are the more apt to beleeve this, becauſe you know in *England* the *diſciplinarians* in *London* meetings debated and eſtabliſhed their orders in ſecret and not warrantable Conventicles, and much about the ſame time, and great correſpondence was entertained betwixt the Scots and the Engliſh at that time. How that book of Diſcipline was practiſed without any authority in *Surrey* and *Northamptonſhire*, and other places you know well enough.

Now I pray you, when without Authority, by their owne inherent radicall Right, they make Orders, reforme, eſtabliſh a Diſcipline, doe theſe men imagine, that the concurrence of Chriſtian authority Soveraigne is abſolutely neceſſary, or that their demand is any thing elſe but an act

act of courteſie, when by themſelves and aſſiſtants they may eſtabliſh and practiſe it?

This Second book of Policie, Maſter *Melvils* reformation is the *Epocha* of our ſecond Reformation. The fruits of which I will tell you were, the Annexation of all Biſhopricks, Abbyes, Priories &c. to the Crown, which was effectuated *anno* 1587.

If you will caſt your eyes upon *the third glorious reformation*, that makes the Popes knees ſhake like *Belſhazzars* when he did ſee the handwriting on the Wall, (that is if we will ſpeak truly, this deformation which is the diſgrace of reformed Catholike Religion, and which threatneth Church and Religion, King and Kingdom with ruine) you will find theſe men have ſung a note above *Ela*, have ordered and practiſed more then all that went before them. *Hanc movere nolo Camarinam.* I hope a better wit and more elegant and eloquent pen, ſhall ſome time Anatomiſe this Monſter, and ſo lay it open to the view of the world, that it ſhall appeare to be no true brood of the Reformed Catholike Proteſtant Religion.

All muſt Preach as they direct.

2. Secondly, another argument to prove that this Superlative Soveraignty *in ſpiritualibus*, hath all its moſt naturall Subjects at its devotion and obedience, is this, that what they command to be Preached, muſt ſound alike in all their Synagogues. And whoſoever he be that is the Miniſter of the Kings family he muſt Preach the ſame. There is no cocquall, corrivall, or coordinate power that can doe ſo much as *intercedere* make the leaſt ſort of croſſing, oppoſing or interpoſing. Is it not known that the *Kings Miniſter* in *Scotland*, at the direction of this *Conclave*, when his Councell have been to meet frequently for Treaty with Ambaſſadors from forrain Kings, upon

the Lord's day or Week-daies Sermon before the meeting, μετὰ παῤῥησίας, *in great freedom of the Spirit*, hath told him all the Counſell of God from Heaven, with a denunciation of Iudgements if he ſwerve from it. And if the King had gone to the Church of *Edenburgh*, a Beardleſſe boy had told him more ſound wiſdome from Heaven, how to article and conclude in matters of Higheſt concernment betwixt him and *Spaine*, or him and *France*, then all the wiſeſt Councellors and greateſt Nobles in the Land: and this forſooth muſt be the King and Councell's rule.

They appoynt publike Faſts.

3. Thirdly, doe they not challenge to themſelves the ſole power to appoynt publike faſts, to give the reaſons of it, which ordinarily are, that Gods judgements are incumbent and imminent upon Church and Kingdom, for the ſinnes of the Governour and Governours, and that the Government is amiſſe. And the conſequent or effect of theſe faſts is too too frequently and ordinarily ſome Commotion, Sedition, Rebellion, or at leaſt, ſome change of Court, Councell, or Seſſion.

A ſtrange affront offered to King *Iames*.

I cannot here paſſe by a ſtorie as true as ſtrange. While King *Iames* was in Scotland, two French Ambaſſadors had remained ſome months there with Him: being ready to depart and take their leave of the King, the King for His own and the French Kings greater Honour, ſent on a Satterday for the Major and Aldermen of *Edenburgh*, commanding them the very next Monday to Feaſt the French Ambaſſadors. The Miniſters of *Edenburgh* to affront the King, and the King of *France* too, on Sunday intervening indict a ſolemne faſt to be kept to morrow on Monday, the day appoynted the Saterday before by His Majeſty for the entertainment of the Ambaſſodors.

The

The Magiſtrats of *Edenburgh* proudly contemne the command of the ſupream ſpirituall powers, and out of carnall affection, feaſt the King & the French Ambaſſadors Royally & Nobly on Monday; when the Miniſters & the good Chriſtians of *Edenburgh* faſt, the King, the Ambaſſadors, and Magiſtrates of *Edenburgh* feaſt. *ô facinus horrendum.* But to avert Gods judgement from the Land, the Major and Aldermen were cited and convented (here was ſome favour that the King and Ambaſſadors were not, but I will tell you it was partiality and corruption, for ſome of the Miniſters were the Kings Penſioners, and this kept the King free) to be cenſured for their high Scandall in contemning ſo ſolemne a Faſt. There was much work: but the King who was the chiefe and almoſt ſole tranſgreſſor, with interpoſed delayes, and much ſollicitation and prudence, took off the edge of their zeale, and the purſuit ceaſed.

4. That this Aſſembly is Soveraigne in *all Spiritualls*, admits no Coordinate or Coequall power, farre leſſe a ſuperior, is cleer in this; That if any Preacher be charged before King or Councell for any offence to be puniſhed, if they in any caſe can cloath it with a ſpirituall reſpect or circumſtantiate it ſo, that it may be qualified for the Spirituall High Sanhedrim, the party cited and convented, may and ought to appeale to the *Generall Aſſembly, as to the Iudge competent.* Mr *Andrew Melvil*, if I be not deceived, was the firſt Spirituall Councellor of Law, that taught this way. It is certain that what they Preach in Pulpit is not cenſurable by King, Parliament, nor Councell, or any Iudge or Iudicatory elſe. There be two reaſons for it, one is that, *Spiritus Prophetarum ſubjecti prophetis*, the ſpirit of the Prophets are ſubject to the Prophets onely, 1. *Cor.*

None Preaching Treaſon is cenſurable by any but by them.

Cor. 14. the t'other is, whilſt men are there in that infallible pulpit, they are ruled by ſome ſuperior good ſpirit and they dare not blame or condemne them, leaſt they ſhould offend and ſinne againſt the Spirit, and ſo although a man Preach downright Treaſon, if it be in this place he is priviledged. It is known and, I hope, yet remembred that after *King Iames* of bleſſed memory *anno* 1584. made many good Lawes to curbe the Inſolency of Miniſters, did by Statute and Act of Parliament declare His Supremacy over Eccleſiaſticall Perſons and cauſes; condemne all Iudicatories in uſe which were not by his own authority eſtabliſhed; (He meaned the Presbyteriall.) That the Miniſters then did importune the King to repeale them: and when that would not doe, did they not fall at laſt into open railing againſt him in pulpit, as *an enemy to Chriſt and his Kingdom*; they diſperſed through the Kingdom infamous libells againſt his Perſon and Royall Honour: they branded him as an Apoſtate from the truth, and reviled him as an offſpring of the cruell and bloody houſe of *Guiſe*. This forced the King to put out a Declaration *anno* 1585. in Print yet extant to vindicate himſelfe and his Honour from that unchriſtian and more then diſloyall calumnies. At or about the very ſame time ſome fugitive Miniſters out of Scotland, pretending they were perſecuted, did in the Pulpits of *London*, with their fowle mouths, raile againſt His Majeſty, the wiſeſt and learnedſt of Kings: ſo that the Scottiſh Ambaſſador was forced to complaine to Queen *Elizabeth* of it; Her Majeſty gave preſent order to the Lord Biſhop of *London* then, to ſilence all the Scottiſh Preachers there.

Now that this Sanhedrim is only competent Iudge in *Spiritualibus*, and that one convented before King and Councell

Councell, may decline his and the Councel's authority, although he hath Preached Treason, appeareth cleerly. 1. First, if this had not been an ordinary practice before this time, what needeth the making of that Act of Parliament, *anno* 1584. declaring it Treason in all time to come to decline the Power and Iurisdiction of the King and His Councell. 2. Secondly, has not *Iames Gibsonne* Minister at *Pencaitland* witnessed for or against himselfe rather in this case in Print: who publiquely in his Preachings compared His Majesty unto *Ieroboam*, told him He should be the last of His Race, reproached him as a Persecutor, and much more of this zealous stuffe: who being convented before the King and Councell, and accused of those pious crimes, He with that boldnesse becometh His Order, justified all, saying to His Majesty, *As long as you maintain these cursed acts of* 1584. *the tyranny of Bishops, you are a Persecutor. And addes, that as Ieroboam for the leading of the people of Israell from the Lawes of the house of Iudah, and from the true worship of God, was rooted out, he and all his posterity: so should the King (if He continued in that wicked course, maintaining those wicked acts against God) be rooted out and conclude the race.* much more to the like purpose was said, & if any look upon the Privy-Councell Books of the Kingdom of Scotland, he will find this a truth. He was convented 27. *December, anno* 1585. This man was an Oracle consulted, and gave his answer in *Coppinger*, *Arthington*, and *Hacket's* extraordinary motion, which storie you know better then I.

Mr *Black*, Minister of St *Andrew's*, was convented too before the King and Councell about the same time, who appealed from King and Councell *to the Presbytery or Generall Assembly*; this last had spoken against both King and

Queen. There was a great buſineſſe for the two mens appeales, their brethren ſided ſo much with them that the King had too much to doe. At laſt out of more then warrantable indulgence His Majeſty was content to inſiſt no farther againſt them before His Councell, but to remit their cenſure to the *Generall Aſſembly it ſelfe*: before which it was cleerly proved, that in pulpit they had ſpoken reproachfull and Treaſonable ſpeeches, yet could the King by no power or entreaty obtain of them to inflict any puniſhment upon them, becauſe ſaid they, *They knew not with what Spirit they were overruled.*

I will ſhut up this poynt with one inſtance more then ſufficient to make the truth of what I ſay to appeare. Before *King Iames* came to the Crowne of England, it was ordinary in Scotland to have a *Generall Aſſembly* once a yeare, and oftner *pro re natâ*, upon any great exigent. The laſt which was kept during His Majeſties abode there was *Anno 1602.* in the cloſe of which the next enſuing was appoynted to be at *Aberdine, Anno 1603.* in the interim the King ſucceeding to Q. *Elizabeth*, and being in England, He was ſo much taken up with the affaires of the Kingdom, that He was neceſſitated to lay aſide thoſe concerned Scotland; and for this reaſon His Majeſty thought it fit to adjourne the Aſſembly (unto which he had a ſpeciall eye, knowing their turbulent diſpoſition, and experienced in it whileſt he was preſent amongſt them) to the next Summer in *Anno 1604.* When the time appoynted was come His Majeſties more weighty affaires not ſuffering him to think upon *the Aſſemblies buſineſſe*, He gave order to Prorogate it to another and longer day; which was accordingly done by publike Proclamation, authorized by His Honourable Privy Councell of that Kingdom.

Not-

Notwithſtanding all which, ſome Thirteen or Fourteen Godly zealous brethren muſt needs meet at *Aberdine* at the day appoynted for the Aſſembly. They eſtabliſhed and formalized the Iudicatorie, by conſtituting a Moderator, a Clerk, and other eſſentiall Members of the Court. The Lords of Councell underſtanding this contempt, ſent a Gentleman of good qualitie and place, with an Herault at Armes, to diſcharge and diſſolve the Holy meeting. The Commiſſioner and Herault were entertained with as much reſpect, as before they had given reverence to the Proclamation iſſued out by the Soveraigne authoritie of the King with the advice of His Honourable Privy-Councell. The *Holy Fathers in the great Sanhedrim* proteſted and profeſſed, that in Conſcience and Duty to Almighty God, they were bound to preſerve the Churches right, and could not, would not, give way to that power the King Sacrilegiouſly uſurped, which properly and natively belonged to the *Church virtuall, the Aſſembly*. They kept and continued the Aſſembly ſome dayes, and finding that no more of the holy Brotherhood came to joyne with them, they diſſolved, and to preſerve the holy right of the Church appoynted the time and place of meeting for the next Aſſembly. The King hearing this, gave order to His Privy-Councell to cite & convent them before them, and to puniſh this High contempt. The more *zealous Champions of the Lord of Hoſtes* appeared, and with an undaunted courage gave in to the Lords of Councell a *Proteſtation, a Declinator* from the Kings Councell, and appealed to the next *Generall Aſsembly*, as the ſole and competent judge in this caſe and cauſe. The Kings Atturney or Advocate, by order from the Councell-Table, was ordained to purſue them criminally before the Lord Iuſtice Gene-

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rall, and that upon the Act of Parliament mentioned before *Anno* 1584. upon which Order, the one halfe confeſſed their fault and eaſily made their Peace, and obtained pardon. The zelots were convicted of Treaſon, *ad Terrorem & exemplum*, more then for any other end or reſpect: and only baniſhed the Kingdom. Of whom the moſt part thereafter upon their confeſſion and ſubmiſſion were pardoned, came home, lived and enjoyed their own, or at leaſt as good, if not better Benefices. Sir, are theſe things conſiſtent with Monarchie, or the obedience is due to Soveraignty and its Higheſt Courts?

The Soveraignty Eccleſiaſticall Tyrannizeth over conſcience body & Eſtate.

So abſolute and uncontroleable is this High Celeſtiall Court, that it commandeth, Conſcience and Soule, diſpoſeth of body and eſtate in the poynt of Religion, that if you conforme not in all, neither Soule, nor Body, nor Eſtate can be in Peace, nay no toleration can be allowed where this ſoveraignty domineereth. And to make this power of the larger extent, it is certain, their faith and things neceſſary to Salvation are of greater latitude then that of the Councell of *Trent*.

If any doth not, after a little time granted for information, conforme and ſubſcribe to their confeſſion of Faith, (which is more in negatives and deſtructives, then affirmatives and poſitives) their rule of government, their manner of Worſhip, and what elſe in their opinion is neceſſary to Salvation, (and in this I am ſure they are more rigorous then ever God or Catholike Church was, for if you diſſent but from them in a Theologicall tenet, it is Hereſie) you are forthwith excommunicated, *and given over to the Divell*: after which upon the remonſtrance of a Commiſſioner from the Presbyterie to the Civill Iudge, there is a warrant from Supream authority given out to com-

command you to conforme (this is different from the Writ *De excommunicato capiendo*) or then within few dayes to be put to the horne (that is outlawed.) Vpon diſobedience the tender conſcience not conforming, the outlawed's eſtate moveable (Chattells we call it) become proper to the King. God knoweth, little of this benefit commeth to the King's Theſaurer, but a *Donater to the eſcheit*, which ordinarily is the Convicted's mortall Enemy for a little compoſition hath the right made over, and hath the benefit of the eſcheit. If within yeare and day he give not obedience and conformity, His whole Revenues and Rents of immoveable goods forfeit to the King during his life time. Some Enemy of His, or Favourite of the Theſaurer's, obtaineth the King's Right, and the King hath little or nothing of it. Here you have him ſtript of all his Eſtate moveable, immoveable. Yet here is not an end: but ſtill upon Remonſtrance of the *Presbyteries or Church's Commiſſioner*, another writ goeth out, which they call Letters of Caption (that is, if I miſtake not, the tant'amount of the writ *de Excommunicato capiendo*) which is directed to all Sheriffes, Stuards, Provoſts, Bailies,&c. to ſeize & ſecure his Perſon whereſoever it may be apprehended, and to commit him to cloſe Priſon as a Rebell. If he skulk and hide himſelfe, then upon the ſame Remonſtrance goeth out a writ, which there they call *Letters of Intercommuning* (I know no thing in the Law like this) the intent is that none of the Kings Subjects commune or conferre with him *coram* or perſonally, or by Letter or interpoſed Perſon keep intelligence or correſpondence with him; otherwiſe the intercommuner is to be judged and reputed to be a Rebell of the ſame guiltineſſe. You will be pleaſed to remember this, when the

Church requireth all theſe of the civill Magiſtrate (ſo they are pleaſed to terme Soveraignty) he is bound to grant them. Now, Sir, I pray you conſider if this is not in many reſpects worſe then the Inquiſition; when an opinion in a Theologicall tenet different from the aſſured faith of thoſe *Gamaliels* may bring a man unto all thoſe troubles. Onely to make amendes for this, remember this authoritative way preſerveth a Church from Hæreſie, Error, Superſtition and Schiſme.

This Court is Iudge of Treaſon in relation to Religion, and of fit & worthy Councellors for a King.

There is another practice of the power of this Court, that for the glory of God, the honour of the King, the good and preſervation of Church and Religion, it may aſſume to it ſelfe to be Iudge of what is Treaſon, what is not: who are fit Councellors for a King, who not.

Practice is the moſt ſure infallible and clear proofe and demonſtration of power. I will give you one in the caſe of Treaſon, that none dare to ſay it is a Lye, and which can be made good by the authentick and publique Records of Parliament and Councell of *Scotland*, and their owne Noble acts of generall Aſſembly.

When King *Iames*, about the age of *Ioſias*, (when in holy writ it is recorded of him that he began to ſeeke the Lord with all his heart) had taken the Government of the Kingdome in his owne hand; and did Reigne and Rule with ſuch prudence incomparable, admirable, that none could juſtly except againſt Him or His Government: yet ſuch was the reſtleſſe ambition of ſome, who could not with patience endure the truſt of others, eſpecially of that Noble worthy *Eſme Duke of Lennox*, His Majeſties neareſt Kinſman and higheſt Favourite, and that juſtly for His moſt eminent Noble endowments. Theſe diſcontented Gentlemen layed downe a reſolution to get the King into

into their hands and power, and to thruſt out that Noble Prince. They watched an opportunity, when the King came to His ſport of hunting neare to *Saint-Johnſtowne*, with an ordinary attendance, (the Noble Peere ſtaying with others at *Edenburgh* for the King and Kingdomes better ſervice) ſurpriſed him fearing no ill, ſeized his Perſon, carried him along to the Caſtle of *Ruthen*, kept him ſo that none could have acceſſe to him, till he was forced to command the Duke of *Lennox* to depart the Kingdome (which out of zeale and love to the King he did in Winter embarking at *Dunbrittane*, came to *France* and dyed ſhortly after) and to change all his ſervants they diſliked, and to ſurround him with themſelves and their owne. They kept their King in captivitie the ſpace of nine monthes, ſuffering none to come at him, but ſuch as they pleaſed. The wiſe King put a good face upon a foule buſineſſe, ſeemed to like well of them and their courſes. Nevertheleſſe, the beſt and moſt knowing of Subjects grumbled exceedingly to ſee their Prince ſo abuſed. The Conſpirators underſtanding it, did adviſe upon the beſt courſe to ſatisfie the people and to bring them to approve their way. They wrought with the chiefe Rulers of the Synagogue, and prevailed. At the next generall Aſſembly they give in a Remonſtrance to them then ſitting in *Edenburgh*, declaring the *Extraordinary reaſons* that moved them to ſecure His Majeſties Perſon in the Caſtle of *Ruthen*: their zeale to the Reformed Religion, which was in imminent and apparent danger by the practices of the Duke, who was ſent from *France* to *Scotland* of purpoſe to corrupt the young King: their care to ſecure the King's Royall Perſon, whom the Duke intended to conveigh privately to *France*: their deſire to free the Subjects from the bloo-

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dy tyranny and oppreſſion both of their lives and goods by the malitious diſpoſition, and inſatiable avarice of thoſe who were about him and overruled him; and a great many more ſpecious pretences, (which are not much different from theſe of this time;) upon this Narrative the humble Petition to this Superlative Soveraignty was that the holy Brother-hood would be pleaſed to give an approbation to this their Heroick and Chriſtian fact, and whatſoever was their judgement they would obey it with this *proviſo*, that it ſhould be made knowne to all good Chriſtians within the Realme. The demand was pious and juſt, the holy Aſſembly ſecured from erring and error, and not encroaching upon any thing meerly civill, but in a caſe of ſo high concernment *in ordine ad ſpiritualia*, as competent Iudges doe take the caſe into their conſideration, and after mature deliberation, being aſſiſted with a fanſied infallible direction give out their verdict, authorize and approve all in ſubſtance or circumſtance to be holily and juſtly with much zeale and diſcretion done. In all this they exceeded not their power, and that becauſe what was done, was for the advancement of God's glory, the honour and perſonall ſafety of the King, and publique good of the Kingdome: That all good People may reſt content and be fully ſatisfied, it was further ordained, that all Miniſters ſhall upon their returne to their Pariſhes intimate ſo much to all their flockes; and withall exhort all People to eſteem the actors as good Chriſtians and Patriots, that for the cauſes above mentioned were neceſſitated to take this courſe, to preſerve Religion, to rectifie the errors of Court, which were brought and wrought to that height that both Religion and Policie were in the greateſt imaginable danger. The Ordinance was accordingly performed

formed to no ſmall griefe of honeſt Subjects and Chriſtians. Sir, if there were no more inſtances what doe you thinke of this?

It is worth your notice taking, that this Noble Duke dying in *France*, who before His comming to *Scotland* had been bred in Popery, became a Proteſtant when He came thither, and was King *Iames* his Convert. While he was a dying, Romiſh Prieſts were moſt earneſt for acceſſe to reconcile him to that Church; but he adhering to truth, and proteſting withall his Promiſe to his Couſine King *Iames*, would admit none and dyed in the Communion of the Proteſtant reformed Church.

The Soveraignty of the Aſſembly is above all Lawes, and may repeale them.

This high Court, the generall Aſſembly, *in ordine ad ſpiritualia*, challengeth and practiſeth a Soveraigne power above all civill Lawes and Statutes and Acts of Parliament. And that with that power that of it ſelfe it may repeale and condemne ſtanding Lawes, and Acts of Parliament, which are in practice and obſerved within the Kingdome.

To give you a recent example and inſtance of this; Since this Aſſembly of late in this diſtemper hath recovered it's place and power, the generall Aſſemblies of *Glaſgow* and *Edenburgh* have damned Biſhops as Antichriſtian and againſt their Reformation. I wave this. More, they have ſecluded Biſhops or any Church-man from having any voyce in Parliament, Conventions, or Councell. Thus by their owne moſt proper Eccleſiaſticall authority they have made voyd many Acts of Parliament there, which before were in force and practice. As that in *anno* 1584. *declaring it Treaſon to call in queſtion the power and authority of any of the three Eſtates* (that is Biſhops, Lords and Commons) *or any one of them.* This

act was made onely to preſerve the priviledges of the Eccleſiaſticall eſtate inviolable. This is evident by the King's Declaration put forth the yeare following 1585. Again they have made voyd another Act of Parliament in *anno* 1597. *Ordaining Miniſters that ſhould be provided by His Majeſty to Prelacies to have Vote in Parliament, as being the third Eſtate.* Another in *anno* 1606.

The ſame Aſſemblies, did declare the Acts of the Aſſemblies of *Glaſgow, Perth, &c.* null, voyd and unlawfull: which notwithſtanding were enacted as Municipall Laws, obedience commanded, and practiſed in the greateſt part of the Kingdome. How much King *Iames* his happy memory is blaſted, by theſe ſupercilious new Orders of thoſe Aſſemblies, my Pen bluſheth to expreſſe.

The ſame Aſſemblies have condemned the high Commiſſion Court, declared by Act of Parliament. And this is done upon this ground which proveth their *Soveraignty in ſpiritualibus*, becauſe it was not conſented to by the Church: That is, the vertuall Church, the generall Aſſembly.

When I conſider theſe things, I cannot ſufficiently wonder how the high Court of Parliament of *England*, hath ſwallowed and ſworne their Covenant, which in it's right ſenſe doth eſtabliſh a Court above King and Parliament. Iudge you, Sir, if this Oath be *in Iudicio, veritate & juſtitiâ.*

All Iudicatories are ſubordinate to the Sanhedrim.

If King and Parliament be ſubordinate to this Court *in ſpiritualibus*, or *in temporalibus in ordine ad Eccleſiaſtica*, all the reaſon in the World will plead, that it is moſt juſt, that all Iudicatories whatſoever, even the Supreameſt from whom lyeth no appeale, ſubmit and ſubject themſelves to it.

The

The holy Fathers of this Court have ſhowen their Right in this point too. To confirme this, fearing I have wearied you, I will bring but one inſtance, and ſpare to trouble you with more.

This Story can be made good by Records which I am to tell you. And firſt, give me leave to informe you, That the *Lords of Seſſion* (who by Act of Parliament are ſo) are in all *Civill cauſes* the Supreame Iudicatorie of the Kingdome under the King. No Iudgement paſſed there can be rectified or reduced by any Iudicatorie, under the King and Parliament, but by themſelves, which is onely by *ſuſpenſion of Execution*, of that is judged and decreed, or by *action of Reduction:* This is nothing but *provocatio a Philippo malè edocto ad Philippum rectiùs edoctum.* This thus premiſed I come home.

Mr *Iohn Graham*, one of the Iudges of that aſſociate body, had commenced an ordinary and proper ſuit before the Lords of Seſſion, obtained *Decree and Iudgement* according to his Libell. After which, a rumour was noyſed abroad, that the Writs and Evidences, upon which his ſuit and the judgement upon it were founded, were forged and falſe. The generall Aſſembly took notice of this injuſt decree, as they to whom the inſpection of Religion and Iuſtice belongeth, and who were bound not to ſuffer ſuch an unjuſt judgement to take place and be executed. They ſend for M. *Iohn Graham* commanding him by their authority to paſſe from his *decree*, to make no uſe of it againſt the Party againſt whom it was obtained, and that becauſe it was purchaſed upon falſe grounds, and *it gave occaſion of great ſcandall*, that he being a Iudge ſhould make uſe of ſuch writs. His anſwer was, if any would challenge his *Decree or Iudgement* upon any juſt ground, he might

have his recourſe to the *ordinary Judge*, and take it away by *way of reduction*, but ſo long as it was not reduced, it concerned him to take the benefit of it. Then ſeeing that they could not prevaile by admonition, they threatned him with Excommunication, if he did not what they enjoyned. He appeales from them to the *Lords of Seſſion*, as the onely *Competent* Iudges in ſuch caſes: notwithſtanding they reſolve to proceed againſt him. The Lords of Seſſion finding themſelves intereſſed, and the Aſſembly uſurping upon them and their power, in this proceeding againſt one of their owne number, who had appealed to them in a civill cauſe already judged by them; directed ſome of their number to the Aſſembly, and deſired them not to meddle any more in that buſineſſe, as being meerly civill, and no wayes belonging to their juriſdiction. This produced no other effect, but incenſed the holy Fathers to raile againſt the Iudges as wicked and corrupt men, who ſided one with another whether it were right or wrong. The buſineſſe at laſt came to this height, that the Lords of Seſſion, (who would not ſuffer them to encroach upon their Priviledges) by vertue of that delegate power and authority they were inveſted with from the King, threatned to out-law them, and to proclaime them Rebells to the King, if they proceeded any further, and would not admit of the appeale. The Aſſembly finding themſelves too weake and not able to make their part good by power (in which caſe onely they will be Martyrs) fell from the purſuit and all was quieted.

Sir, I pray you to conſider in what condition are they that live under ſuch a government that is boundleſſe and univerſall, will give Lawes to King, Councell and Parliament; Repeale theirs at pleaſures; reduce and make voyd

Decrees

Decrees and judgement of Higheſt Iudicatories &c. What Peace or Tranquillity can there be in ſuch a State or Kingdom? Give me leave to tell you a true ſtory. It is known and lamented by all good men this day, how King *Iames* His Soule was vexed with them, that many times they have made Him fall out in teares. A Noble man, a moſt wiſe man, then Chancellor, ſeeing the King extreamly troubled at the miſcarriage of the Miniſterie, ſaid to Him: Sir, no man is to be blamed, that you are ſo much troubled with the Miniſters, as your ſelfe; for when they doe any thing amiſſe, you never ceaſe till by Your Royall prudence and authority you ſet it aright againe: but would you leave them to themſelves, the very body of the People would riſe up againſt them, and ſtone them out of the Kingdome. His Majeſty returned a moſt pious anſwer, worthie to be written in letters of Gold in Marble, that all Kings may learne it: My Lord, ſaith He, your advice is ſhrewd Policie, but your Counſell is not good piety; If I had no more to doe but to ſerve my ſelfe of them for a Politick end, your advice is good, and I know it would prove ſo. But God hath appoynted me a Nurſe or Father of his Church, it is my charge from my Lord and Maſter to preſerve his Church, and not to ruinate it. Which if I doe, God will ruinate me and my poſterity.

King *Iames* in the Conference at *Hampton Court* hath well obſerved, that this Eccleſiaſticall Government prepareth way, and uſhereth in a Democraticall government. And he telleth alſo, that in His Mother Queen *Maries* abſence, and in his own Minority and non-age, it was much thought upon and intended. Their Maxims of Divinity lead to it, for they ſay, *Reſpublica eſt in Eccleſiâ*: The Church and her Policy are the Houſe, the Civill govern-

ment is but the Hangings, which neceſſarily for decency and good order muſt be made conformable to the Houſe. Monarchy is enmity againſt the Church. *Catherwood* in his book entitled *Altare Damaſcenum*, gives you it in down right termes, *Naturâ inſitum eſt omnibus Regibus in Chriſtum odium*; and in his Preface, or Epiſtle (I have not the book by me) he calls K. *Iames*, *Infenſiſſimum & infeſtiſſimum puritoris Religionis hoſtem*. And that they may now exerciſe all their power, and bring the Kingdom to a Popular State, which was not ſo feiſable before, it is more then probable, and much to be feared, and with great prudence to be prevented; becauſe the Generall Aſſembly hath in it now the prime Noble men of the Kingdom, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earles, Lords; the moſt active and knowing Knights of Counties and Eſquires; the wiſeſt Citizens and Corporations, and this in the Capacity of *Ruling-Elders*, who diſcontented are able here to make a Faction, call King, Seſſion, Councell, or whom they pleaſe before them, becauſe of their ſupreame, univerſall and independent juriſdiction. And this Iudicatorie cannot 'erre in its determinations, for it is undoubtedly ſecured from error, and aſſiſted with infallibility.

A Holy trick which hatcheth all Sedition and Treaſon.

This divine policy hath another ſacred trick to preſerve its Soveraignty and to continue it, which is this. The Generall Aſſembly ordinarily meets but once a year, yet at the end and cloſe of every Generall Aſſembly, there is a choice made of ſome Commiſſioners, (a Committee) who are to reſide, or at leaſt upon any neceſſary occaſion to be at *Edenburgh*. Theſe are the virtuall Aſſembly, and their power continueth till the next Generall Aſſembly. They are in the firſt place, to intimate to the King the deſire and demands of the Aſſembly, and to ſee *all due civill*

Sanction

Sanction and confirmation given to it. the King, His Councell, His Parliament can change nothing of their ſacred decrees without their conſent. What ever new occurrence is in Church or State *pro re natâ*, theſe Commiſſioners are to give order and to ſee, *ne quid detrimenti Eccleſia capiat.* It is true their orders bind only in the interim betwixt the two Aſſemblies, and the next plenarie Generall Aſſembly may *derogare, abrogare, obrogare &c.* yet give me leave to tell you truth, theſe great Delegates with their power have ſo much influence upon the next Generall Aſſembly, that their προβουλεύματα precognitions and predeterminations, are formally and Legally enacted. Nor is this to be wondred at, for the *Achitophels* and *Ioabs* of Church and Kingdom, the beſt headpeeces of greateſt depth, Preaching and Ruling Elders are in this Iunto.

Heere are all diſturbing Seditions, and treaſonable courſes hatched and conceived; whether it be Treaſon againſt the King, Sedition in State or Kingdom, the change of Court, the removing of Courtiers from the King, the ſurrounding of him with others &c. The next Aſſemblie ownes all their courſes, decrees them under pretence of Piety, Reformation of abuſes, removing of Malignants from the King and from His Counſell, from being Iudges in the ſupreameſt Iudicatories of the Kingdom, &c. By this means at pleaſure, when and where they will, they procure Parliaments to work for their own private ends. To facilitate the work, order is given to all Presbyteries, to command all the Miniſters to Preach to their flocks, to make and keep Faſts, for the danger the Church is in, that the King is inclinable, nay inclining to Popery, that there are none in truſt or power by Him, in Court, Councell, Exchequer or Seſſion, but ſuch as are Popiſh or Popiſhly affected

affected: and ſuch they muſt be, if they once determine it. And woefull experience hath confirmed it, that worthie, Innocent and deſerving men have ſuffered, and the King hath been forced to abandon His beſt ſervants.

This cloſe Committee hath all theſe prerogatives: 1. During the *interim* betwixt two Aſſemblies, they had truſt to ſee that all the Orders and Decrees of the grand Conſiſtory ſhould be put in execution. 2. Next upon any exigent intervening, they have the power by their influence upon all the Presbyteriesin the Kingdom, to make them goe which way they thought fit for their own ends, both to make the Miniſters Preach their ſenſe, and to work with all the people to believe the poſture of affaires in Church and State were as they informed and repreſented them. 3. Thirdly, here were all things prepared for the next great meeting of the Generall Aſſembly.

By theſe means things projected were effected. This way the Queen Regent was put from Her Regencie. This way Queen *Mary* was expulſed Scotland. This way King *Iames* His captivity at *Ruthen* was found to be good ſervice. This way that Noble Duke of *Lennox Eſme* was made a Papiſt, and the King forced to abandon him, and he to depart the Kingdom in Winter being ſick, and ſhortly after dyed in France. By this means, if I be not deceived, was that infamous day the 17. of *December*, *anno* 1596. *atro ſignanda lapillo*, renowned for a moſt horrid inſurrection in *Edenburgh* againſt King *Iames* and His prime Counſellors. I begge leave to give you a ſhort account of it.

The Storie of 17. December 1596.

King *Iames* whileſt He was King of Scotland, by all forraigne Kings, Princes and States, was admired for His extraordinary Royall endowments. Ambaſſadors from many

many beyond Seas at the ſame time, and almoſt conſtantly were with Him. The ſmallneſſe of the Patrimony of that Crowne, was not able to maintain that Royall deportment He kept. Beſides being too too Royally liberall and magnificent, His coffers were empty, and at this time ſcarce was His Majeſty able to maintain the neceſſary charge of His houſe in that meaſure which was ſuitable to ſo Royall a King. To rectify this, the King with the advice of his Counſell, entruſted with all his Rents, Revenues and caſualties, Eight prime men of good worth and integritie, Officers of State, Counſellors and Iudges. This was done that all might be rightly regulated, and before all things His Tables at Court kept like a Kings, that forraign Ambaſſadors might not eſpy any want which might derogate from the Honour of King and Kingdome. The ordinary Tables of the Court were regulated; the Courtiers daily allowance was retrenched; which they could not away with. They and other diſcontented perſons did reproachfully call theſe men, *The Octavians*. They who grumbled at this, and would right themſelves, to gain their intendment, hit upon the ordinary and ſafeſt way, that was to beginne with the Church. They informe, the forraign Ambaſſadors did work upon the King to turn Papiſt: it was like they would prevaile, for theſe *Octavians* were all ſuch in their hearts, and diſſembled only in profeſſing to keep a communion with the Proteſtant Church; if thoſe were not removed from the King, and good men put about him, Religion, Kingdom, and all were undone. When this had been often informed and ſuggeſted, early in the morning on the 17th day of *December*, three of the Kings Domeſtick Servants came to M. *Walter Balcanqual's* houſe; The Miniſtery of *Edenburgh*,

and others Commiſſioners of the generall Aſſembly, with ſome of the beſt Chriſtians of *Edenburgh* are ſent for, they meet there. The Kings Servants informe that all was undone, if they did not in time and ſpeedily prevent; for the Marqueſſe of *Huntlie*, (this was the late Marqueſſe who came occaſionally the night before to Court, and it is true he was Popiſh, but God knowes he was free of what he was charged with) ſay they was with the King till twelve a clock at night in his Bed-chamber yeſter-night; it is reſolved upon to re-erect Popery, and ſo many of your beſt Citizens and Chriſtians are to be ſeized upon; ſome to be ſent to *Blacknes*, ſome to *Innernes*, ſome to *Dunbritton*, &c. The caſe was apprehended in that zeale which became the cauſe. The reſolution taken, was, that M. *Walter Balcanquall* being to Preach that very day in the Chancell of Saint *Giles* Church, which they call the little Church, after Sermon and Prayer done, he ſhould deſire all good Brethren and Chriſtians to meet immediatly forthwith there for the good of Church and Religion. Noblemen, Gentlemen, Preachers, Burgeſſes, all who affected the good cauſe did meet. M. *Robert Bruce* was appointed by common conſent Moderator. It is laid open in what caſe Church and Religion, State and Kingdome are: the urgent inſtant neceſſity is made to appeare. The reſult of the determination was, that preſently they goe to Armes, and by holy force, to pull from the King's ſide thoſe *Popiſh Octavians*: That a Letter be written to *John Lord* Marqueſſe of *Hamilton* to come to *Edenburgh*, to *be Captaine of the Congregation*; and in regard the King had made defection from the true Religion, He being the neareſt of the blood ſhould come and take the Government upon him. I know the juſt Copy of this Letter is extant

to

to this day. They runne to Armes, the word is, *The Sword of the Lord and Gideon.* The good King was in the place of Iuſtice; the prime of the *Octavians* with him; hearing ſomething of the uproare and tumult, by a ſecret paſſage, he and ſome other goe up to the Exchequer houſe overhead. A great Lord was head of the Congregation, he and ſome others came Commiſſioners to the King, were admitted, demanded thoſe *Octavians* to juſtice. The King askes this Lord, how durſt he againſt His authority, His Lawes, His Proclamation keep unlawfull meetings at *Edenburgh* (for the King before had diſcharged the meeting of thoſe Commiſſioners of Aſſemblie, or any other meeting whatſoever without his Royall warrand.) The Lord, with courage in zeale to a good cauſe, told the King that he ſhould ſee ere long they durſt to doe more. The Lord, or ſome other, taketh hold of one of the *Octavians* Gowne, who was Preſident of Seſſion; but he pulleth his Gowne out of his hand, and conveyeth himſelfe downe to the houſe where the Lords did ſit in judgement. In fine, the King and Lords were forced, to ſhun the danger of this tumultuarie inſurrection, to cloſe up the doores, and ſome to ſtand with their ſwords drawne if any ſhould offer violence to break up the doores. Some good Subjects eſpecially *Alexander Home* of *Northberwick* for the time Provoſt of *Edenburgh*, and *Roger Mackmath* (whom King *Iames* ordinarily called His Bailie) with others well diſpoſed and Loyally affected Subjects, and namely the *Hammer-men* riſe up in Armes for the King, who partly by ſmooth words, and partly by threats, huſht and houſed the Factious and Seditious. The King came out of the place of Iudicatorie, and on foot, attended with many Nobles, Gentlemen, and other good Subjects, came to

His Pallace at *Halyrude-house* in Peace: where immediately in the afternoon, he convened his Privy-Councell, and by his Wisdome and Authority so represſed and punished that insolencie, that all the time of His Raigne, the like Barbarous treacherous course was never attempted. I hope you are the more apt to believe this, when you remember what a Petition or Declaration was presented to Queen *Elizabeth* at *Greenwich anno* 1582. to remove from her Service and Trust such as they know were not well affected to the Religion and Church.

Sir, I could make it appeare how all Seditions almost and Rebellions in that Kingdom, have been set a foot or fomented by this Government Presbyterian: How neighbourly Feudes have been encreased and entertained: How Moneys collected for the reliefe and support of *Geneva*, were by the chiefe *Gamaliels* and Presbyters interverted, employed to raise and pay Souldiers to ayde and assist the Earle of *Bothwell* and his complices in Rebellion against the King. I feare I have wearied you already, the Subject is everlasting and I am weary of it.

If I should give account of the late practices and tenets of this late Covenant, it were possible to let you see that it hath farre exceeded all the mischiefe ever their forefathers did, although they tread in the same footsteps. The reason why I have spared it is not I feared it, I hope to discover it sometime to the World by anatomising it fully. Next, I hope, you have espyed the Noble passages of it, and are sufficiently confirmed, that nothing can be more destructive of Monarchie, and the Peace of any government. To shut up all, give me leave, in the close, to give the Articles of their Apostaticall Creed inconsistent with Monarchie, which they hold as the twelve Articles of the

Apo-

Apoſtolicall Symbole. I will touch onely the prime of thoſe; for for their other Articles, they are ſo many and of ſo vaſt an extent abounding in Negatives, that as King *Iames* ſaith well, he that would keep them is not able to keep them in his Braine, but muſt keep them in a Table Booke.

The Articles of the Dogmaticall Presbyterian Faith inconſiſtent with Monarchie.

1. AS I have ſaid before; They Preach and maintaine that the Church is the houſe of God, the civill Policy and Government are onely the hangings. Their Dogmaticall Creed.

2. Next they beleeve, all Miniſters are *pari conſortio honoris & poteſtatis præditi*, that there muſt be a parity in the Church. Ioyne theſe two together, and you have a faire way for Democracie.

3. They vindicate to themſelves and their Conſiſtory, a ſoveraigne, complete, univerſall, independent power in all things ſpirituall that concerne Salvation, they have not onely the directive power but the Legiſlative alſo; and all temporall things in order to Salvation and Religion come within the verge of their Scepter. All ſoveraigne Power, (whereſoever you fixe it, (whether in one, as in a Monarchie; or in few, as in an Ariſtocracie; or in many or all by viciſſitudinarie turnes) have onely the Executive power to doe as they command; and is bound to preſerve by it's Power, Lawes and Armes, their ſacred and celeſtiall Priviledges and Soveraignty.

4. Whatſoever Lawes civilly enacted by King or Parliament they conceive to be againſt the Lawes of the

Kingdome of Christ, by their native proper intrinsecall right immediately derived from Christ, they may repeale and make voyd, discharge the Subject to obey them. They may decree not onely different Lawes of their owne from the standing Lawes of the Kingdome, but contrary, contradictory and destructive of them. And have withall so much coactive power, that if obedience be denyed to the Lawes of this Soveraignty, they can destroy the Soules of the Subjects, by delivering them over to *Satan*.

5. No Minister Preaching in Pulpit, Sedition or Treason, or railing at King, Councell, the prime Iudges, is accountable, or punishable by King, Parliament, Councell, or any Iudicatory whatsoever; But from all he may appeale to the *Sanhedrim and Consistorie* as the sole and proper competent Iudge.

6. What Corroboration or civill Confirmation, or Sanction they demand of the King, which he is able to doe civilly (for they will give him no formall interest in any sacred or religious thing) He is bound to Grant it, and to obey them as Christ's immediate Vice-gerents: otherwise they may Excommunicate him.

7. Reformation and preservation of Religion, especially to prescribe the way and Orders for Reformation is solely theirs.

8. The King is bound to put their Orders in Execution; but if neither He, nor His Councell, nor His Parliament will doe it, the Inferiour Iudges, the Nobles, the Commons, nay every individuall man to his utmost power, at their direction, are bound to doe it.

9. That they may without warrant of supreame Authority, Assemble where and when they will, for God and Christ's cause, and for the Liberty and Peace of Subject and

and Kingdome *in ordine ad ſpiritualia*; and there they may Covenant together, ſweare and ſubſcribe for the glory of God, the advancement of Religion, and conſpire and combine in a mutuall defence one of another in this holy Cauſe and League.

10. They teach and maintaine, that all Soveraignty and Majeſty in a King is originally, immediately and properly derived from the Communitie, and that onely by way of a fiduciary truſt, ſo that it is habitually and radically ſtill in the People, and the King hath no greater portion or proportion then He hath by the firſt popular fundamentall Conſtitution. And in caſe of deficiency, the collective body may ſupply in Church or State the defects of His Government. For mal-adminiſtration the King is cenſurable; For enormous errors He is depoſable, and they may diſinherite His Poſteritie.

11. That a defenſive Warre is lawfull againſt a bad King, or a weake King ſeduced by Malignant Councell.

12. They may oppoſe and reſiſt all His Officers and Commiſſioners by force and violence, if they come to execute His illegall commands. And if He will be ſo obſtinate that He will come in Armes againſt theſe good Chriſtians, they reſiſt not His Authority, but His Will: nor His Office, but His Perſon.

Beſides their practice, upon theſe grounds, is to bring all caſes all cauſes under their cognition and Iudgement, *ſub formalitate ſcandali*, by which the King is robbed of His Sacred Prerogative; The Iudges of their authority; and all Subjects of their Right and quiet. The reſt of their Extravagant Maximes inconſiſtent with Monarchy and the Peace of Government are reduceable to thoſe heads. More then this you deſired not.

Sir,

Sir, being infinitely obliged to you, and honouring you much for your worth and Excellent parts, curſorily and haſtily, I have written this anſwer to you. Not intending thereby to reproach any perſon particularly whatſoever, but to lay open to the World how dangerous a Government this is, not onely for Monarchy, but for all Governments whatſoever: and that our eyes being opened we may chuſe rather to endure any torment temporary, then to enter into this treacherous and damnable Covenant, deſtructive of Religion, King, Church, Peace of all, and the Liberty of the Subject. To ſweare to theſe things as eſtabliſhed *de jure divino*, and to put on poore People to act Treaſon and Rebellion, making them beleeve they are Confeſſors and Martyrs. If this give you any ſatisfaction, I have what I deſire: If you doubt of the truth of any thing, I hope I am able to make all here good by faithfull and authentick Records, or Teſtimony of ſuch as are worthy of truſt. I pray you keep it for your owne uſe onely, for I ſhould be loath any but a Friend ſee it, it is ſo rudely done, but I dare ſay truly and faithfully.

God ſave his Church from this Scourge, and give us Peace and Truth, which ſhall be the dayly Prayer of

Your poore Friend and obliged Servant.



14

Numb. 54.

THE PARLIAMENT SCOVT:

Communicating His Intelligence TO THE KINGDOME.

From Thursday the 27. of June, to Thursday the 4. of July. 1644.

MY Lord of *Canterbury* came again upon the Stage; it would never grieve a man to suffer at last, that hath so long a triall, that proved, was, that he was an Arminian, a Papist, or favourer of both, but what ever he might pretend and set up, its well known to himselfe, and neerest friends he is of no Religion, to please Princes, and to be *Vice Roy*, he advanced Popery and Arminianisme, not that he was either, or of any other Religion.

Friday we had knowledge by Letters from *Northampton*, that Sir *Will. Waller* was at *Hanwell* neer *Banbury* the 27. and though much weakned by long marches, which his Majesties forces were sensible of as well as he, untill they made their plundring recrute in *Buckingham*, *Northampton*, and *Bedfordshire*, and yet as his Letter imports he would come forward, God assisting, though he forst his way with his sword, his Majesties forces at

that time (as by ſpeciall information had) being reſolved to fight, *Northampton* was willing to give him all poſſible aide, but having many horſe and foot gone farther Weſt then was intended, they cannot do as they would, yet ſome they reſolved to do, and in this excurſion of the enemy have done more then all others that went out, for *Wedneſday* the 26. they fell upon the enemy about *Toſſiſter*, with a Troope or two commanded by the reſolute Major of their horſe, Major *Lidcot*, and ſurpriſed a party, few eſcaping, many priſoners, 25. killed that would not take Quarter, theſe were her Majeſties men no doubt, for ſo they ſay they diſtinguiſh, Prince *Rupert* and *Goring* are for her Majeſtie, other forces, ſay they are the Kings Souldiers.

We had Letters that intimate a reſolution in our forces before *York*, not to force the City, they within being deſperate, and we not willing to ſhed blood if it can be avoided, beſides the powers that are to go againſt Prince *Rupert* muſt be ſo many, that the remainder cannot act as before.

This day we had newes of a neat piece of ſervice done at *Oſwelſtre* in *Shropſhire* by the Lord of *Denbigh*, who went to prevent the comming of fourty five barrells of powder to Prince *Rupert*, which had he done, he had as good as overthrown that *Lancaſhire* power, but the cunning Merchants went from *Briſtoll* along the heart of *Wales*, and ſo to *Cheſter*, that it could not be met with poſſible by that noble Earle, which miſsing, he fell upon the aforeſaid Town, and after the Caſtle, and with a few men overcame both, and though theſe cannot be accounted great victories, there being no field fight, and the powers of neither ſide amounting to a Regiment, much leſſe to a Brigade, though ſome publiſh them ſo, and thereby make our enemies matter of jeering and ſcorne, how ever it was a very fine piece of ſervice.

This day came to *London* the Earle of *Leiceſter*, and with him that worthy Bencher of the *Middle-Temple*, Mr. *Bagſhaw*, Burgeſſe of the *Burrough* of *Southwarke*, Recorder of *Banbury*, one of his Majeſties Commiſsioners for Array, neither for Biſhops, nor againſt them, couſin to a wiſe Gentleman, not Knight of the noble *Order* of the *Garter*, nor old enough to go unleſſe his ſon lead him.

Who *Saturday* came with great confidence to the houſe of Commons, not doubting but to make good all he had done: but having nothing to ſay for himſelf, was ſent to the *Kings Bench*, that *Southwarke* men might inſtruct him better againſt the next Election.

This day we underſtood of Colonell *Browns* advancing from St. *Albons* towards Sir *Will. Waller*, and with him we hope the *Hertfordſhire* men, or ſome of them, after whom, we expect *Eſſex* men and others ſhould follow,

low, and make a brave Army, and now why may we not hem in all the Kings power, if not King and all, they not daring to go into *Oxford* say some for feare of being starved: the Summer is far spent, and it may be provisions in *Oxford*, we hope they shall never be permitted to lay in any of this yeares growth.

We had a good Ordinance past this day, *viz.* that no Lord nor Commons who have deserted the Parliament and complied with *Oxford*, shall be readmitted into the Lords house, nor Members of the house of Commons into the Commons house, without consent of both houses, a good bar: if they had come when their house stood in its glory, we should have thought they had come out of conscience, and affection to the Parliament, but now to leave the ship when its sinking, and get to the maine top, is but Rat like, one constant Royalist is worth two of these.

There past this day Colonell *Norton* with his four hundred horse towards *Ailesbury*, who since met with Colonel *Brown*, they take the right hand way to joyne with Sir *Will. Waller*: they of *Northampton*, *Warwickshire* send in a thousand horse and foot.

One that came from the Leaguer before *York*, tels us that Colonell *Rossiter* with the *Lincolnshire* horse are clearing the Country about *Grantham*, they took upon *Thursday* was sennight one Captain *Mason*, lately a Malignant Priest, other Officers, and 26. Common men, killed eight, not one lost of our side, the Captain and those taken are brought to *Boston*, its like they wil not permit this Priest to say masse in English, especially when they hear its laid down at *Elie* house.

The same Messenger reports that 8000. horse, and 12000. foot are gone against Prince *Rupert*, who with others make 23000. he saith that to make good the Siege, and fill up the Quarters whence those were taken, that went against Prince *Rupert*, the Country people come in in great numbers, more

then they can tell how to get Armes for neere hand, and confirmes part which we have often heard, and did not believe, *viz.* that they before *York* can take the City when they pleaſe, but in ſo doing they muſt ſpoile the City, deſtroy and undo many poore innocent people; when the P. of *Orange* lay before one of the Cities taken in this preſent war with Spaine, he threw in many Granadoes, which mightily deſtroyed the houſes and people, one of the inhabitants went to the Prince, and deſired to know why he would deſtroy the people, who would be as good ſubjects to the States, as any now under their Government, whereupon he deſiſted, it may be out of this end they forbeare that violence they would otherwayes uſe upon *York*, and will waite untill hunger make them yield.

We had not thought to have ſaid one word more of *Lime*, but hearing from a good hand many remarkable things, wee will trouble the Reader with a few of them.

Firſt, this Garriſon was a Garriſon of conſcientious men fled thither, moſt of them, as to a City of Refuge.

Secondly, they from the Governour to the meaneſt had no knowledge in Armes, but what they got in the Siege, unleſſe to ſhoot off a Musket, learned in an houre.

Thirdly, that the ſtrengths about the Town were little better then ſuch as we call paper buildings in *London*.

Fourthly, that the Soldiers all kept conſtant in their works, not going off for food, but their wives, daughters, and maides brought that to them, and adventured through more danger then their husbands, fathers, and maſters were in, (the enemies works being within Piſtoll ſhot) divers of whom having hands ſhot off, and the like ſorrows, yet rejoycing, and acting without feare.

Fifthly, that the Engliſh that beſieged the Towne, had vowed, if they took the Town, to put yong and old to the ſword, but the Engliſh-Iriſh were more mercifull, and would not indure ſuch reſolutions, many of whom ſhot no bullet,

ſo

ſo loath were they to aſſiſt a Popiſh party in a Popiſh deſigne (cleare to them) intended by the Popiſh inſtruments imployed, and favoured: See who chained theſe mens Officers, that they did not deſtroy the Rebels, can any ſay it was either the King or Queens evill?

Sixthly, that thoſe of *Lime* ſeverall times offered the enemy to make a breach, that twenty a breaſt might enter and fight with them, and alſo that if they would withdraw their horſe, they would come into the Field, and fight with their whole Army, with many other paſſages as remarkable, which we deſire all Souldiers, but eſpecially Garriſons may take notice of, and example by.

Monday we had news that a part of P. *Ruperts* Army was come out of Lancaſhire to Skipton, if we may name the number of our enemies power, he is again ſaid to be 16000. halfe horſe, and halfe foot: Lancaſhire Papiſts have no minde to come out of their County with him, as in a former we told you.

The ſame day we had Intelligence that the Kings forces were ingaged in fight with Sir *Will. Wallers*, and that Saturday they had fought from 4. to 8. and that many were ſlain on both ſides, and that Ordnance were loſt and gained by either party, that the Lord *Wilmot* was taken priſoner, wounded, and re-taken, but nothing of certain, but that they fought, which if the going off of the Guns be a ſign, they did alſo on Sonday: Before Sir *Will. Waller* began to fight, the forces of Northamptonſhire, and Warwickſhire were come to him.

This day it was reported, that the City of *York* was in diſtreſſe for all things but bread, and that if they had not reliefe within ten or twelve dayes, it was like they would yield: Prince *Rupert* was ſolicited both by his Majeſty and others, to attempt the reliefe of it, or all was like to be loſt, yea, the Crown was mentioned by the honourable Lord *Digbie*, as like to be loſt; no, its his head thats rather like to be loſt, and ſuch ſeducers of Princes as he is.

This

This day towards night we had a reporte, and that of good credit, that P. *Rupert* was in Lancashire Mondy the 24. only a party was gone towards Skipton, himselfe being with the main of his Army between Warington and Preston quartered up and down the Country, selling of Plunder; we do not believe he will attempt the reliefe of *York*, if he looose this Army, he will hardly get another in England, which he must needs hazard in relieving *York*.

We heard likewise that my Lord Generall was yet at Chard, and that many Sommersetshire men were come to him, and that it was thought the first place he would attempt would be *Bridgewater*, and so for *Bristoll*, others think *Exeter*: we heard also that the party gone out of *Plimouth* had done some service.

Also that they that lie both before *Basing* house, and *Greenland* house, do follow their business close, and batter apace.

Likewise the newes was, that a Ship was taken with some thousands of Armes going to his Majesties party, now we begin to bestirre our selves by Sea and Land, if Sir *William Waller* stand fast, and we get *Yorke*, all the Texts in the Bible, nor all the reasons that can be brought will be of that force to perswade men to take the Covenant, no Arguments to good successe, to bring in to the Parliament.

Tuesday we had a more certaine and particular Relation of the fight between the Kings forces, and Sir *William Waller*: we will not mention the manner of the fight, nor the losse of men, nor Drakes, nor horse; the managing of a fight where the enemy is double in horse requires great skill: But we hope when the forces of horse and foot of Colonell *Nortons*, and Major Generall *Browns*, who are 7000. in all are come up to Sir *William*, as no doubt they are this night, they will put the enemy to it: we had almost forgot to tell you that Colonell *Middleton* made good that which we have often heard of him;

viz.

viz. that for understanding in horse service he is inferiour to none in this Kingdom, when hast is in the Saddle, repentance is in the crupper, faire and softly goes farre, honestie and valour are excellent, and skill is good also in war now a dayes.

The Kings forces are come to *Banbury*, how were our expectations raised at the beginning of this Summer, did we reckon lesse then to have had England entire? were we not confident that the mountaines must have been the habitation of our enemies for the future, when fled from *Oxford*? how were we in expectation of a full trade in *London* again? and that we should have been growing, and been inabled to pay such taxes as are upon us, and for the future should be laid.

Letters from beyond Seas tell us that the Siege of *Graveling* is strongly continued, and that *Pycolomini* and *Becke* are joyning to raise the same, but the besiegers have made themselves strong defences, let them fight it out, let us have no hand in the businesse, the more the French get, the deeper will be the engagements, and greater the quarrell, which is our weal: what should we interpose, especially for the Spaniard, as is hinted? there are sixty Townes in the Netherlands, yet in the possession of the Spaniard that will cost every one a yeares Siege on; besides *Catalonia* prospers, which alone will crush *France*; were they more upon the thriving hand, had they accorded with *Transilvania*, 'tis true if the Spaniard would deliver *Graveling* to us, something were said to encourage us to raise the Siege, but to raise it thereby to continue it Spanish, is absurd, bring two new enemies upon us, before we are rid of this we have, indeed to get two friends it had been somewhat, but we cannot expect Spaine a friend cordiall, in regard their maximes are such as none can joyne with, who hath any minde to make *Spaine* a Universall Monarch?

Transilvania is not agreed with the Emperour, but intends to prosecute the warre, which is good newes, the French have sent him an incouraging summe, the Protestants in *Germany* are happy in this, the Swedes and Danes are now grown into such an equality, that each stands looking upon other.

The famous Duke of *Brand* is said to appeare in Armes for the distressed in *Germany*, a brave Prince, God go along with him, he deserves an Empire.

Wednesday, Letters of the nineteenth past from *Sunderland*, they tell us that the Scottish new Army entered England the 22. and intend for *Newcastle*, which they in *Sunderland* and the Bishoprick will joyne with, who will be in all about 15000. if the powers of Prince *Rupert* be not too numerous (they being all as we now heare bent towards Yorkshire) no

doubt

but that Town may yet be in our hands, at least the Coale Trade before this Summer end.

This day Letters came to *London*, purporting the particulars of the businesse between the Kings forces, and Sir *William Wallers*; they say he lost an hundred prisoners, and five or six Drakes, the businesse was performed with much courage, but instructions were not observed, prisoners of the Kings party.

The powers of Sir *William Waller*, and Major Generall *Brereton* hope are joyned this day: The Kings forces rather bend toward *Northampton* then *Oxford*, which gives him strong, especially in horse, and because he leaves retreats and marches to parts where none are, Sir *William* is resolved to follow him, his Majestie we are afraid will horse most of his men.

These horsing of his Majesties powers undoes us, which we can never prevent, but by a power of horse, which was foreseen by the E. of *Manchester*, and thereupon an Ordinance, was sent up upon his going North thereby to enable the Association to have horse in readinesse, which is this day by the Lords past, so that now they may provide, he that hath so much Land, so many horse and dragoones, We know not whether in the Ordinance, such as finde horse, are exempted from other taxes, nor whether there be any proviso that they shall not be taken on as mercenaries: but this we know, that by reason of such powers in the severall Provinces of *France*, the enemy seldome makes any incursion, that is, of much advantage to him, or prejudice to them, but usually the contrary, as we could give many instances in these wars between *Spain* and *France*: had we such powers, as we hinted in our last, the enemy could not go at pleasure, and make us dance after him from *Oxford* to *Bendley*, then back to *Oxford*, and why not now to *Yorke*?

Printed according to Order, for Robert White.

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5

DIVINITY AND PHILOSOPHY

Dissected, and set forth, by a mad Man.

The first Booke, divided into three Chapters.

Chap. I. *The description of the World in mans heart: with the Articles of the Christian Faith.*

Chap. II. *A description of one spirit acting in all, which some affirme is God.*

Chap. III. *A description of the Scripture according to the history and mystery thereof.*

Amsterdam, Printed in the Yeare, 1644.

Deare Friend and Reader,



Here is Divinity and Philoſophy diſſected and laid open to the view of the world, by a mad man; therefore if the manner & phraſe be not ſo exact, as that it is not able to ſatisfie the curious eye, or abide the cenſure of the nice Mercurialliſt (who is apt to carpe more at the miſplacing or neglect of words then matter) it is no great wonder, nor care I whether they be ſatisfied or not, ſeeing my intention is to declare the matter according to my own mad minde, unto thoſe who will underſtand it after my mad manner: The reaſons why I expoſe it to the generall view needs not much be queſtioned or inquired after in this age, wherein the whole world is full of ſo many diſtracted heads and religions (which ſay, Loe here, and loe there is Chriſt) that many are put beſides their wits in straining them out of joynt to inquire with Pilate what is truth; by which it may be gathered that in many ages the ſame hath been in obſcurity without being diſcovered or ſearcht after: nor are there any to bee found amongſt the multitudes of thoſe who beare the name of men, that are able, or at leaſt willing to rectifie them by reſolving the queſtion. Wherefore I have thruſt my ſelfe upon the Theatre in this mad poſture and act, in publiſhing my mad minde amongſt the reſt, to prove if any will accept my madneſſe for truth, the which I dare not avouch for truth to all, becauſe I know moſt men are full of ſelf conceited or imaginary knowledge; ſo that if the higheſt, divineſt and greateſt wiſdome and truth that can be written or expreſſed by letters, were laid down to them, they will not admit of, nor receive it in their underſtandings, but will eſteeme of it as the greateſt blaſphemy, folly and lie in the world. Beſides, I am not ſo ignorant in my madneſſe, but that I know likewiſe that ſeverall eyes and judgements will looke upon and into it, and according to their eye or judgement, it will appeare to or in them, and ſo I doe expect their thoughts and verdicts to paſſe upon it: therefore I ſay, I will not, nor dare not maintaine it to them, in reſpect of their various capacities, conceptions and diſpoſitions, but only leave it to the diverſitie of cenſurers as every one doth finde it to or in them, earneſtly deſiring that they may underſtand the beſt ſenſe for their utility or profit, which is my reall intention. As alſo I propound it for a triall, if there be any in this uncharitable and ſelfe loving age, that out of true love and

ſound judgement will extend his hand to helpe a mad man, and anſwer him ſo as is able throughly to rectifie and cure his judgement in demonſtrating to him by more probable, ſubſtantiall and apparant reaſons, his error in this following Treatiſe, & be his director to a more ſublime and higher truth in the thing treated of. I doubt not but the truly divine, and right reaſonable, or the truly wiſe, able and ſound in judgement, is ſo wiſe and good, that he is able and willing to cure diſtempers of all ſorts, to whom I am alwayes willing to ſubmit my judgement upon better grounds: however, deare Reader, whoſoever thou art, whether friend or enemy, whether wiſe or mad man, I wiſh thee no leſſe happineſſe then to my ſelfe, who deſire to be in my wits and right minde to God, although a fool and mad man to the World: if thoſe things ſpoken here, trouble or offend thee, ſo as thou conceive hatred or malice againſt me for the ſame, or that thou thinkeſt that any prejudice may redound to thy owne or others judgements (or religion) by this enſuing Diſcourſe, I beſeech thee pacifie thy ſelfe firſt, and judge not raſhly, or before thou knoweſt; nor blame me, but firſt enter in judgement with thy ſelfe, by pondering and conſidering in thy ſelfe, that if thou hadſt ever underſtood or known things aright thou couldſt never have been offended at any thing ſpoken, or at leaſt intended for thy good, much leſſe could the words of a mad man have ſtumbled or offended thee, for to the wiſe all things are profitable: but if any doe reap good thereby, let them know that out of a hearty love I earneſtly intend good to them and to all, and wiſh from my heart that they may attaine unto the perfection thereof, for their owne everlaſting peace and tranquility in minde: nor is it impoſſible but perhaps that which ſeemeth to be a lie and madneſſe to ſome, may appeare to be the reall truth and true wiſdome to others; thus wiſhing thee the true knowledge of all things and their cauſe, together with the fruition and enjoyment of the trueſt happineſſe, which is God: I am thy true friend.

Errata.

Page 21. line 36. for negative read vegitative. p.22.l.16. r.feeleth. p.37.l.21.r.taſte of.

CHAP. I.

The description of the World in Mans heart.

AS for the creation of the world, it is in Mans heart, as Eccleſiaſtes ſaith in the third Chapter, it is internally; and in the firſt of the Hebrewes, he ſaith that God hath created the worlds, ſpeaking in the plurall number; that is, he makes a firſt and ſecond creation of Man: now the creation of Gods firſt world in Man, is Man and God joyned together from eternity; and this was that deep ſilence and waters that God moved or brooded on, and he ſeparated the waters from the waters, for God is that light and holy ſpring, and Man is that darke and blacke water; and God is the Heaven, and Man is the Earth; and the ſeparation is the firſt day for diſtinctions ſake that we may know God from our ſelves, I meane the firmament and ſeparating light and darkneſſe is the diſtinction; and that is the firſt day in Man which is called the Evening and the Morning. So theſe waters is the flowing of the mindes of God and Man which was ſeparated; the minde of God floweth above the firmament and in his owne light or ſphere or in himſelfe. The Man, his minde floweth under the firmament and on the earth or in himſelfe, that his dry land or earth might appeare; and this ſeparation of mindes or waters is the ſecond day or light that diſcovers two, one diſcourſing to the other, and ſaith, let us make or doe theſe things, and ſo this day or light hathits evening and morning, which is a whole day: and God ſaith, let the Earth bring forth fruits; now the deſires and affections are the herbs and fruits with their ſeeds, that is their proper ſelves that bringeth forth their owne kinde in Man, for every affection, thought and inclination, hath its owne ſeed in it ſelfe, and doth produce its own fruit out of us, which is good in their owne kinde; and the appearance of theſe things in us is the third day in man, with its evening and morning, for the evening and morning maketh the whole day. And God ſaid, let there be light in the firmament, which light is the Son and glory of God and Man Chriſt Jeſus, and is the light which diſtinguiſhes or diſcovers the mindes both of God and Man to each other: and the Moon that is in this diſtinction that rules the night or the darke Man, is the inſtruction, and the good adviſer, that the Sunne or true day light ſhineth

through them to the Man, and all the ſtarres in this firmament are the lights of Gods graces that is ſeverall to the Man to enlighten his darke heart that hee might ſee the glorious Son through theſe gimmering lights, for his dark eyes is not able at the firſt to behold the glorious Sonne, but by degrees the holy God brings him to it; ſo theſe holy lights in the Man are the fourth day with his evening and morning. And God ſaid, let the waters bring forth fowle and fiſhes; which waters are the flowing ſea of thy minde, and the fowle or birds are the flying fantaſies that flye about the heaven of our ſouls, and the fiſhes are thy delightfull thoughts that ſwim up and downe in thy minde, and all theſe are proper ſelves with their ſeeds, and are very good in their owne kinde, and are uſefull for the Man, and for his pleaſure and delight; and this is the fifth day in man with its evening and morning. And God ſaid, let the Earth bring forth all beaſts and creeping things; which beaſts is the paſſions of thy minde, ſome of which thou maieſt uſe and eat of, and ſome thou muſt keep under and not eat of, as the Hare which is thy fearfull paſſions, and the Swine which is thy voluptuous appetite, and the birds and fiſhes (which will not be orderly) thou muſt keep under and not taſte of; for we muſt reigne and keep our phantaſies (that is the ravenous and deſtructive birds) hoodwinkt, that they may not ſee nor goe beyond their limits to diſturbe the ſoule with their diſorderlineſſe; for *David* did kill a Lion and a Bear, and fought with *Goliah* and killed him; which Lion is thy ſtrong unruly appetite, and the Beare is thy unorderly and bloody ſelfe will, and the *Goliah* is that evill or divell, that is thy unreaſonableneſſe that raileth againſt thy God, or good which is thy reaſonableneſſe. Now theſe thoughts and phantaſies (unruly paſſions, appetites and unreaſonableneſſe) muſt be kept under and ruled, or elſe they will diſturbe and deſtroy thy ſoul, but kept under, ruled and ordered are uſefull to the Man; but this keeping them under is death to them, for they are mad and cruell (let looſe) and keeps the ſoule and reaſon in all ſubjection, ſo that no good ſhall appeare in the ſoule but they will deſtroy it; for theſe beaſts, birds and fiſhes, will deſtroy and devoure all the reſt of the peaceable beaſts, birds and fiſhes (as the dove, or thy innocencie or meek lambe, or peaceableneſſe) and all thoſe peaceable creatures that would be at reſt in thee, and pleaſe thee, and give thee reſt: for *Sampſon* killed that Lion that came roaring upon him, that was his ſtrong and ravening appetite that would have devoured him, ſo he ſaith afterward (when he had overcome his ravening appetite) there came ſweetnes out thereof wherewith he was refreſhed; for he ſaith, out of the eater came meat, and out of the ſtrong came ſweetneſſe, ſo that appetite that would have devoured him (keepſt under and ſet upon the love or deſire of goodneſſe) was meat and ſweetneſſe to him. And God and Man ſaid, let us make or ſet forth

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our image, which is male and female, that is true righteouſneſſe, holineſſe and pureneſſe, that ſhould rule over theſe birds, beaſts, fiſhes, and all creeping things that moveth in the world of Man; and they give them names according to their natures and qualities that they ſee in them: ſo this is the ſixth day in Man with its evening and morning, and all things is good in their kinde. So the reſt of Gods diſcovering (or creating things) is that holy reſt and dwelling of God and good in the Man, for he hath ſhewed Man all things, and he diſcovers himſelfe the laſt, which is the beſt and holy reſt and peace of things, and is the Sabbath or ſeventh day with its evening and morning, the holy reſt in man which hee ſhould have kept for ever, and never have loſt or broken: this reſt is the holy Godhead or breath of life that is given to the Man, and is light of his light, and the life of his life, or breath of his breath; for Man without God is dead, and his life and breath is death without the life and breath of God: So God gave himſelfe into the hands of Man to ſee what he would doe with him, for he loveth the Man as himſelfe. Now when the Man ſeeth that God hath given all things in his owne power, then comes the ſubtileſt beaſt that is in the earth of Man to intice or allure the Man, and to be maſter of all in him, and to rule all things, and this beaſt is the wiſdome of the fleſh, or the wiſdome of the darke man which is ſenſuall and devilliſh; and now the Man or female having her will, and beeing free, having all things in her poſſeſſion by the free gift & love of God to her, deſires to rule by her will and wiſdome, and to let God alone, and forſake his counſell and wiſdom, & rule by herſelf and wiſdome, which is blind, ſenſuall and evill, and this is her guide, and ſhe will be her own God to do her will, luſts and deſires, and ſhe in blindeneſſe wil diſtinguiſh between good and evill, who knowes nothing at all but by the light of Gods grace and goodneſſe in her, which ſhe hath forſaken, and is ruled by her owne ſelfe and wiſdome, that calls good evill, and evill good, and ſo it is all lies and falſhood which the Man is ruled by; and ſo he is loſt and damned from God and goodneſſe, and is joyned to a lie and deceitfulneſſe, and hath made God taſte of her deceitfulneſſe by her forſaking him: for ſhee that is his wife hath forſaken him which is her mate and yoak fellow, and ſo he is loſt and hidden from her, and is under her earthly man of ſin, which is in hell: for that which ſhould be uppermoſt is undermoſt (which is God) and that which ſhould bee undermoſt is uppermoſt, for all thy brutiall paſſions and beaſtly appetites (which ſhould bee keept undermoſt and ruled) is uppermoſt, and they rule and governe thee, and all things in thee, for they keep God and goodneſſe under them and will not let them appeare in thee, but kills and crucifies them as ſoone as they appeare in thee to give thee counſell for thy good; and ſo the Lambe of God is ſlaine in the beginning of our firſt

world, or at the first appearance, discovering and distinctions of things in us; for in one infancie or nonage, all things is in silence, and we are a Chaos, and God is in this silence, and with us in this Chaos, and in his time and when hee saw the ripenesse of this Chaos, he set forth all things in us, and made them appeare in their order and places to us, and gave all things to us as our owne, and in our owne power, because we should be free to binde our selves or stand free according to our pleasure; for there was life and death set before us, so that we might binde our selves to either or stand free as we were, and binde our selves to neither, because that Man should not complaine, nor grieve in his spirit that he should be tyed against his will to any thing, therefore all men appear free to stand or fall, or binde themselves to what they please: but Man tyes himselfe to the brutiall passions of his mind, and leaves God and goodnesse, and so they be hidden and lost in him, so thy passions, rules & domineers over thee, and thy blinde wisdome or subtle serpent carries thee into all mischiefe and lies, and deceives thee, and makes thee have a hellish mind which is a cage of all unclean and hatefull birds: for thou art the kingdome of hell, and thou art full of hell-hounds, dogs and swine, wolfes, and Tygers, Lions, and Beares, Serpents, and Cockatrices, and all venomous things, so that there is no good thing in thee in thy off-fallen estate, for if God or goodnesse should appeare in thee, thy beastly and divillish crew would destroy him out of thee, so that thy God or goodnesse doth lye under thy earth (or under thy hellish beeing) which a mighty power holding forth a flickering sword, which is the law of sin that cries vengeance, and saith, I will repay, and saith, thou must dye, and all thy hellish crew: for this law requires death for death, eye for eye, and tooth for tooth, for thou hast killed God and goodnesse, and these murthers flyeth in thy face by this mighty power with the sword of justice in his hand, that stands to execute thee and kill thee for killing: and this is the patience of the Saints, which saith that they that killeth by the sword must dye by the sword; for this is justice that the blood-thirsty might drinke blood, and so Man thou shalt never bee happy till this justice is executed upon thee and upon all thy hellish crew, and that thou art dead, buried, damned and lost with Christ and God, and that thou and thy wicked crew is seen no more, and thou art turned to thy dust, and into thy old silence with God againe, and art as if thou wert not; and then God in his time will create thee a new world, and renue all things againe in thee; for there shall bee new heavens and a new earth, wherein shall dwell righteousnesse in thee. *David* saith, Create in me a new heart, O Lord, and renue a right spirit within mee; that is, when thy old world, or Adam is destroyed in thee, that Man of sinne, or that vessell of wrath that was borne for destruction or to be damned; for our

old world is to ſhew the glory and juſtice of God and his mighty power in the Man, and to the Man, and that the Man ſhould ſee himſelfe loſt and damned; and when he is come to this paſſe then ſhall he ſee his mighty power in ſaving him, and creating him a new creature or new world: for the firſt world was to ſhew the manhood, and all her glory, what ſhe is, and that all things were given into her hands to doe what ſeemed good in her own eyes: and ſhe let all things run diſorderly and ſpoyled all things, and that which ſhe ſhould have governed did governe her, ſo that all things is turned upſide down, and Man ſees his owne ſtrength and wiſdome is fooliſhneſſe: for God lets man alone with his firſt creation, to ſhew him what he is in his own freedome; and if man had not been left alone and free, and had not had all things in his owne power, he would have repined, therefore he was left free to ſee his owne weakneſſe and inability: ſo he deſired to be his owne God and ruler, therefore God gave man all things in his power, yea even himſelfe alſo, to ſee how he would uſe him, for God ſaw mans covetous deſires, and ſo God put himſelfe and all things elſe into his hands to do what ſeemed good in his own eyes, and ſo nature or man appeared, for that that is naturall is firſt, and is the firſt Adam, and that which is ſpirituall is laſt, and laſt Adam or God; for the firſt man Adam is earthly, and the laſt Man or Adam, is the heavenly or Godhead Man: ſo man if he deſires not to be changed, or become the laſt Adam, ſhall remain for ever in his firſt eſtate, creation or firſt world, for his firſt world is his miſery, becauſe he deſires to be his owne guide, and his blinde wiſdome is his owne deſtruction; and becauſe he diſregards all good, ſo hee ſhall bee with himſelfe and his helliſh crew till he is weary of himſelfe, for he hath given himſelfe to pride, which makes him thinke he is better then other men, which is a lie and a deceit; and he is given to covetouſneſſe of the riches of this world, which all periſh with the uſing; and he is given to luxury, gluttony and drunkenneſſe, which makes him ready to ſtarve, another time for miſpending the goods he getteth to maintaine his livelihood: and he is given to ſeek honour and worldly eſtimation, to wrath and furiouſneſſe, about theſe things which are all lies and vanities, and periſh with the uſing, and to backbyting and evill ſurmiſing one another, to murder in ſecret and openly, to hatred malice and hypocriſie, with all uncharitableneſſe, about theſe lies which all periſh with the uſing, for here is nothing but howling, crying, ſighing and mourning, about theſe lies and deceiveable things: for when pride hath exalted a man to honour and great eſtimation, then he re joyces, and that is his heaven or God to him; and ſtraight envy in another man is troubled at this his honour and greatneſſe, and deviſes ſome plot to throw him downe, and when he is throwne downe, that is hell and death to him, then hee ſighs,

mourns and grieves for this deceiveable lie; and the covetous man he covets the riches of this world, and will coſen, lie and cheat any man to make himſelf rich thereby, and many times comes fire and deſtroyes his riches, or one back-byter or ſlanderer or other, deviſes ſome miſchiefe againſt him, and bringeth him under the penalty of ſome law of men, that he pretendeth he hath broken, whereby all his riches that he hath gotten is loſt and taken from him, then hee mournes and grieves, becauſe this deceiveable god hath left him, and is fled, leaving him comfortleſſe; and the glutton and drunkard that lives in luxury and voluptuouſneſſe (which is his heaven or god) when penury, want and grievous diſeaſes commeth upon him, then cries he out againſt himſelfe, and grieves at his folly, which is a hell to him, now when it is too late; yet ſo ſoon as he recovers health and means againe, he returnes as bad as he was before, like the dog to his own vomit, and the ſowe that is waſhed to her wallowing in the mire: and the murtherer that in his wrath and choller doth kill a man (which murder in his paſſion is the heaven or god of lies that pleaſed him) afterwards when the law of ſin, or juſtice of man, comes to execute him, then juſtice or the law of ſin executing its office, proves a hell unto him: therefore if thou deſireſt no harme to be done to thee, thou oughteſt not to doe any to another, but if thou doſt, this revenge (or juſtice in him whom thou wrongeſt and does to him as thou wouldeſt not he ſhould do to thee) retorts backe upon thy ſelfe, and thy owne conſcience cannot deny but that it is juſt and good, although it be death and hell to thee, and that thou canſt not abide to ſuffer it, for thy juſtice and law of ſin ſaith, an eye for eye, tooth for tooth, and life for life: the morall Law and ten Commandements is in thy ſelfe, and it is thy own naturall deſires to them, for thou loveſt God or good with all thy ſoule, minde and ſtrength to be done to thee, and thou doſt naturally love thy neighbour as thy ſelfe, becauſe he is thy Samaritane, and doth good to thee, for thou doſt naturally love thoſe that doe thee good, and that is reaſonable; thou doſt love the Sabbath day, for naturally thou doſt love reſt, and naturally thou doſt love and honour the place from which thou cameſt which is thy father and mother; thou doſt not naturally deſire to be killed, therefore thou ſaieſt, I muſt not kill; thou doſt not deſire any ſhould take thy naturall propriety from thee, nor falſhood to be done to thee, therefore thou ſayeſt, I muſt not wrong another man by enjoying his wife and propriety, or rob or ſteale from him his right, or what he hath laboured for, for the labourer is worthy of his hire; thou doſt naturally hate to have a falſe accuſation on thee, therefore thou doſt ſay, I muſt not beare falſe witneſſe againſt any one, and ſo the reſt is what thou wouldeſt not have done to thee that thou muſt not doe to another; for S. Paul cryed out againſt himſelfe, and ſaid, that he did the thing he hated, and did

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disallow, and did not the thing that he did allow and love, but sold himself under the law of sin which he hated; for this law and curse is added because of the transgression, which is just to reward every man according to his works, for this law of workes saves no man, but condemnes all because all men have sinned; and as long as man lives in the fleshly lusts of sin and concupiscence, he is under this law of sin and curse, and cannot please God: but the world is mistaken of Paul, and thinks that he meant and said that as long as he lived in the flesh (or in this organicall creature of the foure elements of clay) hee should sin; if this were the meaning of St. Paul, sure he must kill himselfe, and advise all men to doe the like, or else they could not please God, for that which hinders us from pleasing of God must be taken out of the way; but Paul saith, that Christ hath taken him away from the curse and law of sin by faith, which faith is the power of perswasion, and convincing the heart of sin and unrighteousnesse, and the workes of faith is to crucifie the sinfull flesh and lusts, and to be obedient to God and goodnesse, and that faith of Christ saves thee: and Paul saith, that he thanks God he is dead, and that Christ is now his life, and that he lives now by the faith of the Son of God, which is by his loving perswasions, and that confidence and reality of truth which he found by the obedience of Christ in him to God and goodnesse, and so that flesh of Paul is dead and crucified to him, so that it is evident by the sense of Scripture that Paul meant that flesh of sin, and not the organicall creature that he then lived in: for we know nothing of God nor of the divell, but what we see in our selves: for St. John saith, what we have heard and seen and tasted, that declare we unto you; for we must not imagine the powerfull and mighty Godhead to be any Idea, Image, or likenesse of any thing, but what he hath declared himselfe to be to us; for it is said, that Christ is in us, and God is in Christ, so that the Godhead lives bodily in us that hath ceased from sin, for of that omnipotent and mighty power that upholdeth and discovereth all things, wee know nothing neither of our selves or any thing else but what he pleaseth to discover unto us: therefore in thy first creation, or first birth, God discovers thy selfe to thee which is Esau or Adam, and thou hast all things in thy possession, and thou art the God and Lord of all, for thou art the God of this first world that hath blinded thine owne eyes with thy serpent subtilty and wisdome of the flesh, and thou art ashamed of the naked truth, that is the light of Gods grace to discover and lay all things naked and bare before thee; but thou covereſt and hides the truth with the leaves of thy owne fruits, for thou art ashamed of the truth, and when God calls thee in the coole of his day, and that his light and fire begins to wax cold in thee, thou hidest thy selfe from him and art ashamed of him as thy nakednesse, for thy wisdome hath opened

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thine eyes to thy ſelfe will, and hath ſhut them up to the naked truth, and ſo thou art loſt and damned from God and goodneſſe, for thou haſt deprived thy ſelfe of him, and hath hid God in thy ſelfe as thy ſhame, for thou art aſhamed to come before him, and therefore thou hideſt him with thy partition walls of ſinne, and now thou art cloathed with thy owne death, that is the law of ſin, and thy owne juſtice in thee; for the skinnes of thy innocency that thou haſt killed within thee (which is the death of God and Chriſt) is thy cloathing, and ſo thou art cloathed with the death of God in thee, and God now never appeares to thee but in this death, with terror and feare which terrifies thee, and this juſtice of terror and feare lyeth in the death of God, which thou haſt ſlaine and diſregarded, and is that flickering ſword that keeps this death (which was the tree of life) till thou be killed by it as thou haſt killed: as it is ſaid, I have been dead but now am alive for evermore, for this tree of life is the Lambe of God that is ſlaine in the beginning of our firſt world, and ſo hee lyeth dead to us till our wicked world is at an end, and this our wicked world ſhall bring forth nothing but thornes and thiſtles, which is ſins that ſhall prick thee to the heart, and thou ſhalt eat of thy owne fruits with the ſweat of thy browes; that is the labour of thy ſinnes, that toyleth thee with their laborioufneſſe, and this toyle ſhalt thou have with thy ſinnes till thou returneſt to thy duſt againe, or to thy old ſilence wherein thou wert before, and thy ſerpent (or fleſhly wiſdome) ſhall goe creeping on thy earthly beeing of ſin, and ſhall live on their duſt or firſt originall, which is lies, and is thy ſubtle ſerpents food, and thy husband which is thy lie or unreaſonableneſſe that thou haſt united thy ſelf to) ſhall rule and domineere over thee, and thou ſhalt be ſubject to his will, and all thy children or ſinnes that he begetteth of thee thou ſhalt bring forth in ſorrow, and they ſhall be a pain unto thee; for what is ſaid to Adam is ſaid to both, for ſhe or he is one, and is the female of God, for man or woman ſignifies both, and this ſword of juſtice which ſtandeth in the death of Chriſt, is the enmity the ſeed of the woman or humaine nature, that ſhall breake the ſerpents head, and deſtroy his ſeed; and this enmity ſhall bruiſe the humanities heele or foot that he ſhall never walke any more in falſe wayes; ſo this enmity or ſword ſtandeth in the death of Chriſt, crying vengeance and ſaith, that this world (or Adam, Edom, or Eſau) is the childe of wrath, and he hath prepared or ordained himſelf to deſtruction, and ſo this whole world of Man is deſtroyed, damned and utterly loſt, and Man ſhall never bee happy in his firſt birth, becauſe of his fall, for he muſt be dead, buried and borne againe, or elſe hee ſhall never enter into the Kingdome of heaven, for his owne nature is wrath, but God did not make him ſo, but his nature was ſo for ever, for according to Scripture we are the children of wrath by nature, and at the firſt wee appeare

peare ſo, and God did make him appeare to himſelfe what he was, and gave himſelfe and all things into his power, that he might not complaine, and that the Man might ſee how he would uſe God himſelfe, and all things in him, and ſo he deſtroyes himſelfe, God, and all things within him, and hath ordained himſelfe and all to be loſt, ſo the firſt creation in Man is loſt, and God ſhewes Man his miſerable condition in this death and loſſe of God and goodneſſe, and the power of God that lyeth in this death, is called the death of Chriſt, or the two edged ſword that ſtandeth to divide the ſoule aſunder, or that fleſh of Chriſt that is the curtaine that ſtands before the moſt holy place, or *Sanctum Sanctorum*: and this power of Chriſt is in hell under our earthly beeing and Man of ſinne, till we and all ours is turned to duſt againe, and this power or death ſtayes with patience and long ſufferance under us in hell till we are weary of our ſelves and ſins, for we grieve the Spirit of God by whom we are ſealed, and he daily ſhews us our owne miſery, and toyle and ſorrow ſinne doth make in us, and this toyl we ſhall have for ever till we are weary of our ſelves and deſire to be ended with all our hearts, and to forſake our ſelves and our owne wicked world, and all that is within us that is wicked, then doth this holy power, Man himſelfe in us, and deſtroyes us and all within us, and turns us to our duſt againe; and when we are in ſilence with God againe, then doth he create us anew and make us a new world, and prepares us a bride for himſelfe, a heavenly Jeruſalem, a City and houſe for God, and he is our Lord and husband, and he is a holy and righteous ruler, and doth governe all the faculties of our ſoule in peace and love, with all orderlineſſe and union, for then the Lion (our ſtrongeſt paſſions) is in peace with the lambe or innocencie, and all our other beaſts, birds and fiſhes (which is our phantaſies) is orderly and in peace; then ſhall the childe or innocencie lay his hand on the Cockatrice hole, and the Wolves, Beares and Lions ſhall be together, and one ſhall not ſting or hurt the other, for God is King and ruler in man, which orders all things well and in peace in him, and the Son of glory or God, ſhines ſeven times more brighter then hee did in the former world, and this glorious world or Man of God ſhall laſt for ever and ever, in his glorious tranſcendent brightneſſe, and there is no ſorrow or paine in this world, but everlaſting raviſhing joyes and ſweet content of minde; for this holy God doth raviſh the ſoule continually with his delectable pleaſures, ſo the ſoule is ever ſatisfied; for God when he is our Lord, and we have given our ſelves to him, hee uſes us thus ſweetly, and doth give us all pleaſure and content, but when he gave himſelfe to us in our firſt creation, and firſt world, we were aſhamed of him, and hid and deſtroyed him from us, but he is not aſhamed of us, but uſes us with all love; for nature appeared firſt and in that Adam all dyed, for God and

Chriſt was Sonne and borne there, and he became mortall in this nature, for God appeared there in weakneſſe, which weakneſſe is humility and lowlines of ſpirit, with all gentleneſſe and love; and when the wiſdome of the fleſh (the ſerpents ſubtility) had opened natures eyes to pride and high mindednesſe, and to wrath, covetouſneſſe and envie, which eyes is the ſerpents eyes, which is the evill eyes or the Devils, which the nature or man lookt through, which made him thinke that this high mindednesſe and pride, with ſelfe-will, was a glorious tree, and that there was glorious fruit on it, and that it would elevate him highly, and that he ſhould be his owne God and ruler, and that he ſhould know good and evill which he did by wofull experience, taſte of its good which had the evill in it, for it was full of confuſion as was ſaid before, and was the mans toyle; but he thought it was a glorious fruit, and much to be deſired, and ſo doe all men that are in the firſt creation, and firſt world: ſo when Man had taſted of pride, high mindednesſe, and ſelfe-will (the forbidden fruit) he deſpiſed God which is humility and lowlineſſe of ſpirit and meekneſſe, and was aſhamed of this, and thought it fooliſhneſſe, to bee humble, meeke and lowly, for hee thought this to bee poore beggarly nakednesſe, and was aſhamed of ſuch a lowly and beggarly minde as he thought it to be, ſo he covered this meek and lowly ſpirit with his lofty high mindednesſe, and ſo the divine, gentle and holy nature is in hell under this filthy covering; and this is the covering upon God and Man, and is the partition wall betwixt them, and ſo man hath made the Devill god and lord of all, and hath given all that was given him into his hands, ſo God in man is in the Devils power, and he reigns as King and Lord of all in this firſt world or creation that is fallen into the Devills hands by mans will that gave it him: for God gave man himſelf and all, and man delivered, and gave or ſold him to the Devill; for nature in the firſt creation is a Judas that is raiſed up to deſtruction, and is the ſon of perdition that ſells the innocent life in him, and afterward he hangs and deſtroyes himſelfe, and puts himſelfe wholly into the Devils hands, and in the end of time when the man is weary of this wicked world with all his ſoule and minde, and will, wholly returne all into the hands of God againe, he takes all upon him with his mighty power and ſword that ſtands in juſtice hands, and redeems himſelfe and the man out of the Devils hands, for he comes to redeem himſelfe the loſt ſheep of the houſe of Iſrael, which was loſt and hid in man, and covered with mans ſinnes. Now this holy and mighty power taketh all upon him, for he becomes our firſt borne Eſau, Adam or Edome, and will bee our firſt world that is fallen, and will ſuffer with us and for us, as if he had done all our ſinnes: for when he hath our man of ſinne on him he gives the humanity power to indure this juſtice of the death of God for his ſinnes, and this

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ſword of juſtice and Gods death d oth deſtroy death, and this death or ſword of God that frights and feares the man, is the beginning of the wiſdome of God in him to deſtroy ſinne, for the man in his firſt appearance deſtroyed the Lambe of God or goo d, and then he and the Devill, the wiſdome of the fleſh rule all in all in him till the man is weary of himſelfe, and deſires this death of God to helpe him, and this death of God is his backe parts that made Moſes face to ſhine, for the wrath, anger and frownes of God (which is his backe parts) is better for the man then the Devills face or ſmiles; and Gods death is better for the man then the Devills life, and his hell better then his heaven; for it is better to be in the houſe of mourning, then to heare the ſong of fools, though man in his off fallen eſtate thinks it not ſo: but this death and mortality of God (which is his backe parts) doth make our face ſhine, for no man ſhall ſee his face & live, nor ſhall or can we ſee his face, glorious countenance, and cheerfull ſmiles till our man of ſinne is deſtroyed and rooted out, and we returne to our duſt as we were before, and in ſilence with God againe; and ſo this death and mortality of God (which is his angry frowns and the wrath of the Lambe that takes away the ſinnes of our wicked world) is entered into our Eſau or Adam (which is the veſſells of wrath prepared for deſtruction) and is become our fleſh which is dead in ſinnes and treſpaſſes; and this death of God doth deſtroy us which is death, for this Eſau with the death and wrath of God is a hunter, and doth kill meat or veniſon for his fathers ſupper, which veniſon is the wilde and heatheniſh brutiall man whoſe death ſhall reconcile us to God againe: for in the fifth of the Rom. he ſaith, that we are reconciled to God by the death of Chriſt, which death hath mortified us and killed our man of ſinne, ſo this death hath given us power by his death to deſtroy, kill and mortifie our ſelves, for this Chriſt after the fleſh or death, was it that lay under our earthly beeing, and ſaid, that he was a worme and no man, and that the great Bulls of Baſhan gaped upon him to devoure him, which was our ſinnes, and that the great water floods and ſeas of our ſinnes run over him, and he lay ſtill, and the man of ſin thought that he had been aſleepe or dead, and did not ſee their evill workes, but he made this darkneſſe (or darke man) his hiding place, and ſo he ſaw and heard all his evill workes; for he ſaith, I create light, and I create darkneſſe, that is that, I ſet forth my ſelfe which is light, and I ſet forth man which is darkneſſe, and he regards not me, nor my light, becauſe his deeds are evill, and ſo I am hid in his darkneſſe; but when the man is weary of himſelfe, then he ſeeketh for mee, and hath need of mee, though he thought I did not heare nor ſee him before, then he runs to me and cryeth, and ſaith, ariſe, O Lord, in mee, and thy enemies (which is my ſinnes) ſhall be ſcattered and rooted out in me; ſo this death or fleſh of God (which

is death) destroyes man (which is death) in God in becomming his death or his flesh, for in becomming the man of sinne, he destroyes man which is sinne and evill of himselfe without this power of the holy Godhead, which holy power he hath given to the man to arraigne himselfe before himselfe, and to condemne himselfe in himselfe and to execute himselfe, and so make an end of the whole man of sinne, and so he becomes dead and buried with this power of the holy Godhead, for it is better be dead with God, and to be at rest with him, then to be alive with the Devill, and to be in torment in his hell: for this death of God is death to the sinne (which sinne is death) and shall raise us up into everlasting immortality and ravishing joyes of minde: for hee saith, that that which never eye saw, nor eare heard, nor ever entred into the heart of wicked man (in his first creation) is now revealed to them that love him, and those that are of the new borne creature, and the second creation that love him, and are the men of God who are ruled and governed by him; for he saith, that the troubles and sufferings which wee endure (in the crucifying the man of sin in the former world) is not worthy of that joy and sweet consolation that we shall receive, and shall be given to us that hath tasted of the death of Christ, and hath gone through his sufferings with him into the second world that is full of joy, for this end of Esau (or Edom) is the end of the first creation, and the vessell of wrath that hath ordained himselfe to destruction, and God foreknew that he would doe all these things to himselfe, and gave him all in his hand that hee should not complaine, and say he was tyed from any thing, so that he was free, and might have stood or fell; but he fell, and all Adams knows this, their owne conscience accusing them, for hee made man upright and shewed himselfe to bee good, but he sought out many inventions to destroy himselfe, yet God hath mercy on him, and hath brought forth his elected seed to save him, which was Isaac or Jacob, that wrastled with God in this darke night of man to save and blesse him; for this Esau was faine to sell his birthright, and was so hungry with hunting and killing the man of sinne that he had almost lost himselfe, but his brothers pottage (which is love, and mercy, and power) was given him to strengthen him to overcome the man of sinne in himselfe; yet he thought this pottage should not have taken away his birthright and destroyed his first creation, which he wept for, although it was too late, for it was for his further good which is hid from his eyes for a time, and whilst he is a hunting, for Jacob puts on Esaus rough garment or flesh (which is the law of sin which made the man of sin mad) and hee thought to destroy this Jacob, or this second creation which appeared in the man; but in the end when sinne is destroyed, they will be loving brothers, and one man of God, for this Jesus Christ (or seed of promise the destroyer of sin)

ſin) will make all peace and quietneſſe, for this holy God is in Chriſt reconciling the world to himſelfe (in mortifying and cleanſing this man, and burning up all the chaffe of ſin with unquenſhable fire) that there might bee great love betwixt God and man againe, for this Jeſus was three dayes and three nights in the man of ſinne, and in the heart of the earth, and was carried into his wilderneſſed land, and was tempted of him, the manner whereof ſhall afterwards be expreſſed; for he ſhewed Man all his filthineſſe, and how wicked he was and regardleſſe of God and goodneſſe, and this was the firſt day in him, and the night of that day was the death and wrath of God that appeared in the Man, which did terrifie and feare him, and was the wounds of conſcience that told him what he deſerved, and he threw downe himſelfe at Gods mercy; and the ſecond day or light God gave him true grace and ſorrow for his ſinnes, and the night of that day is that bloody fight in heaven betweene the Man of ſinne and God, and that terrible agony and ſweat of death was on the humanity; and the third day or reigne of Chriſt is that day that Chriſt ſhall reigne a thouſand yeares in Man with death, which day is that power of patience and long ſufferance that laſts till the Man of ſinne is rooted out, for a thouſand yeares is but as one day with the Lord, and one day in this ſuffering and reigne of Chriſt is as a thouſand years to the man; for he muſt reigne till all ſinne is ſubdued, and the night of that day all hell is broke looſe to torment the Man for a ſhort time, but this Almighty power gives the Man a ſtrong and victorious power that he fights with himſelfe and overcomes himſelfe and all his devilliſh crew, and ſo the wicked world is ended, and Man ſhall come into a happy condition: There are many that think that Chriſt will come and reigne a thouſand yeares here on earth perſonally, but they will be deceived, for they look and judge of the Scripture after the outward appearance, which is not righteous judgement, for we are to looke on it with a ſpirituall eye, and then ſhall we ſee it as it is, for the looking on it as a hiſtory (and not as it is a ſacred and holy myſtery) makes ſo many falſe Religions; for the birth of Chriſt in this elementary world was after a extraordinary manner, and not after the ordinary manner of men, for he was not as the ſeed of man, nor did the Virgin Mary feele any manner of paine in bringing him forth (as the wiſe and learned hold) nor doth the Scripture make mention of her paine as they doe of others, as Rebeckah Iſaacs wife, and Rachel Jacobs wife, for the Divinity is a ſpirit, and the humanity is a ſpirit, and the Divinity and the humanity joyned together in conjunction as man and wife, is but one ſpirit, and ſpirits bring forth a ſpirit, and can doe no otherwiſe; for this Jeſus Chriſt is a Spirit, and is the Spirit and life of God that is ſowne in our hearts and ſpirits, which makes us cry, Abba Father, for he was and is a Spirit comming forth

of God and man that were and is ſpirits, and that organicall body or figure that he ſeemed to be in (and to eat and drinke, and that he was like fleſh and blood) was as three Angells that appeared to Abraham, which he did dreſſe a kid for, who ſeemed to be men, and did eat and drinke with them as they thought; ſo Chriſt ſeemed to be in that figure and fleſh of the man, but he was a reall ſpirit, for with that body he walked on the ſea, the which Peter could not doe with his heavy body, but did ſinke; and Chriſt did hide himſelfe many times and could not be found, for he did walke inviſibly, and when they did ſeek him to deſtroy him they could not finde him till he pleaſed to give himſelf into their hands, and he could come with his body into any roome the doores being ſhut, as he did after the reſurrection come to his Diſciples, ſaying, Peace be unto you, and he did eat a broyled fiſh, and they knew him by eating and breaking of bread; and there is ſurely ſome ſecret myſtery in that, for when hee walked like a gardener they knew him not, but by breaking of bread; and Thomas would not beleeve that it was the body that was crucified (becauſe he could come through a chinke of the doore as he thought) till Chriſt ſhewed him the print of his nailes, after which, he ſaid, he beleeved becauſe hee ſaw thoſe things; but Chriſt ſaid to him, they were more bleſſed that beleeved and ſaw not, but beleeved and truſted in God without the death of Chriſt: for if we had beleeved and truſted in God, wee ſhould not have fallen and ſinned, but have been more bleſſed, for the whole had not had need of the Phyſitian: but we all have fallen, and need the death of Chriſt to make us whole againe, and we cannot beleeve till wee ſee the print of his death and nailes in our hearts and ſpirits, which he hath taken on him, and is now his humane nature; for his Godhead and humanity is in us, if Chriſt be in us, for he is whole Chriſt in us, God and man, nor can he be divided and be in part in us; and if he had a corporall body of clay (conſiſting of foure elements, made up of fleſh and blood as ours is) it were impoſſible, and againſt reaſon that he could be in us; therefore looke into the Scripture with ſpirituall eyes, for that Chriſt that ſeemed to have a body to be nailed on a croſſe was a ſpirit, and ſhewed to thee how he is nailed with thy ſins to patience and long ſufferance in thee which is death to him, for he grieveth and mourneth for thee; for we grieve the holy Spirit by whom we are ſealed and made the ſons of God, and we quench and put out the Spirit of God from us, and this is death or griefe and paine to God for us; for there is no death to any but grief and pain, and no life but joy and pleaſure, and ſweet content, for the ſoule is an eye, and is compoſed of joy and harmony, and deſires to flye into harmony which is God; and ſorrow and paine is a living death and dying life; nor know I any other life and death but theſe, though there is ſome other things that is called life, as

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ſtirring and motion, and the leaving the body is called death, and in forſaking any thing, I am ſaid to be dead to that, and that dead to me. The Sonne of God, Jeſus Chriſt was and is a Spirit, God and man, which now doth live and walke amongſt us, and we doe really kill and crucifie him every day to our ſelves, and the fleſh and bloud of Chriſt which he would have us eat and drinke, was not ſuch fleſh and bloud as ours is; but there were then ſome that followed Chriſt as fooliſh as we are now, that when Chriſt ſpoke theſe words they did leave him, for they thought he meant they ſhould eat this figure or organ that he ſeemed to be in when he was a Spirit. The fleſh of Chriſt which he would have us eat is his bloud and paſſion, which is the death and mortifying of our ſinfull fleſh; which St. Paul ſaith, ſo long as he lived in he could not pleaſe God: ſo Chriſt would have us eat his fleſh and drinke his bloud, and joyne our ſinfull fleſh to his fleſh; ſo his death or fleſh, doth deſtroy our death or ſinfull fleſh; and ſo that death of Chriſt doth ſave us, and reconcile us to God again. Now I know no other fleſh of Chriſt but this fleſh which is the new and living way, is the curtaine and vaile before the moſt holy place, and all that will be ſaved muſt enter through this vaile; and when this vaile or fleſh or death hath done the worke he came for, hee muſt be taken out of the way, for no fleſh and bloud that is death, can enter into the Kingdome of Heaven; therefore when we enter into the moſt holy place, the vaile or fleſh of Chriſt is rent in twaine from the top to the bottome, and ſo the death and fleſh of Chriſt is finiſhed and ceaſeth, and he is taken out of the way; for there is no mourning, nor wayling in the moſt holy place, for all teares are wiped from our eyes. Now he ſaith, that he (Chriſt after the fleſh) muſt be taken out of the way; or elſe the comforter will not come, which is the life and raviſhing joy of Chriſt: And Paul ſaith, though he knew Chriſt after the fleſh: now hee knew him ſo no more, as I ſhall ſpeake of all theſe things more at large in this booke. Now when Melchiſedeck appeared on the earth hee was without father and mother, and he ſeemed to Abraham to be a man, a Prieſt and King, and bleſſed him when he came from the ſlaughter of the Kings, which are the ſeven deadly ſinnes: This Melchiſedeck is that Chriſt that was before Abraham; as it is ſaid, Before Abraham was, I am; and this Chriſt that appeared in the end of time, is that Melchiſedeck that was before Abraham, and that Elias that was carried up into Heaven in a fiery chariot with fiery horſes, which was a Spirit and the power of God, though he ſeemed to be a man of fleſh and bloud; for Elias is ſaid to be the power of God in man, and I beleeve that all mankinde (when they have put off this lower elementary body that is dead clay without Spirit) ſhall be like Chriſt: Melchiſedeck and Elias, which are ſpirits, and may aſſume any bodily likeneſſe as they were and did appeare in

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theſe lower elements : my reaſon is this, becauſe Samuell aſſumed the likeneſſe of his owne body, and came to the witch at Endor, and Moſes and Elias appeared to Peter and Chriſt on the Mount; ſo I beleeve any one may appear to their friends as many have, for there have many appeared that have beene killed in ſecret to diſcover their murthers, and many of the Saints appeared when Chriſt was crucified : certainly it was not their lower elementary bodies of clay that appeared, but ſome aireall and ſpirituall body they aſſumed, which was the likeneſſe of their former and lower elementary bodies, and like unto Chriſts ſpirituall body that appeared like fleſh and was not fleſh but to our appearance, and that it might diſcover to us and tell us what we do internally and in our intellectuall man; and Chriſt called Lazarus his ſpirit, and made him appeare as if he had been in his former fleſh and blood; ſure theſe things muſt be ſo, or what did become of Lazarus, and where did hee recide before Chriſt opened Heaven gates; for it is ſaid, that he is the firſt that riſeth from the dead, and openeth heaven gates to all beleevers : we read that Elias raiſed a childe from death, and another when the Prophets dead body did touch his dead body, the dead body of the Prophet did raiſe the dead, ſo the dead did raiſe the dead, which is a miracle; therefore there is ſome greater and further conſideration in it; for certainly they could not be dead, but this elementary body ſeemed to be dead, which was dead before (never being alive) although it ſeemed to be alive whilſt the ſpirit of man lived in it, as I have ſpoken more at large in this booke; therefore let us conſider well how all theſe things can ſtand together with reaſon, or elſe wee ſhall make a confuſion of the holy written word of God that is given to lead us into all truth; for there muſt be a reaſon given where Lazarus and all the Saints were that appeared, whether they did dye againe, or where they now be; for wee never read of any thing they did on earth ſince; for it ſeemes they have ſeen the laſt day before it comes to us, and before it came to Chriſt; as the childe that was raiſed by Elias, and the dead man raiſed by the dead Prophet, and Lazarus that was raiſed by Chriſt, as alſo a maid, where did they recide with their corporeall body of clay and elements till Chriſt did open heaven gates? ſure therefore the man muſt be a ſpirit, and hath aſſumed and taken this body out of the foure elements, and caſting it off againe as a borrowed garment, and may aſſume a more rarified and aireall body to appeare in, as Chriſt, Melchiſedeck, Samuell and Moſes, for nothing is impoſſible; only that may appeare to our darke eyes to be fleſh which is not, as the three Angells to Abraham and to Lot; for we beleeve appearances to be that which they are not in deed and in truth (which we finde by wofull experience) the which makes ſuch contention, and cutting of throats about Religion; the cauſe of this

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diſtraction is that we doe not ſee things with a righteous eye.

I deſire all friends and readers, who doe read this booke, and all to whoſe hands it ſhall come, that you will looke into it rightly, and not conſtrue it amiſſe, but as it is really intended for the good of all; and where I ſpeak of the death of God, and Chriſt in man, I doe not meane that the Almighty and powerfull Godhead can dye or be loſt, but as he is dead and loſt to the man that deſpiſes truth and treads it under foot; and ſo I meane that God is dead and loſt, and the truth lyeth in the ſtreets of his heart (which is God, who is that truth) and the two witneſſes lye dead in the ſtreet of his heart unregarded (which is mercy and righteous judgement and is God) which we ſhould have ſhewed forth to all the world, even mercy, and righteous judgement, but we have hid theſe witneſſes. So I deſire that the moſt holy and righteous God may be your guide and director to lead you into all truth.

The true Articles of the Chriſtian Faith.

1. I Beleeve in God the Father Almighty, maker of the holy Heaven and earth in the man: I confeſſe and acknowledge that the ſame is a true holy living God or good, and that he is a mighty Spirit, and a perfect clear light that diſcovers to the man the reall truth of things, and how all things are in their places, and in or to the Man, and he is the reall beeing, the truth, light, life and love to the Man, and this is his name light, life and love, for he is all this to the man: for the love of God to the man was ſuch that he brought him under the law of diſcipline and correction, inſtructing him what to doe for his good, and convincing his conſcience for what hee hath done to himſelfe, and againſt God or goodneſſe; ſo he raiſeth up all our ſinnes as judges to condemne us for what we have done, and they correct or puniſh us, for God (or goodneſſe) hath put it in them to doe it, and God hath opened our eyes with his power to ſee it, which makes us hate and condemne our ſelves for what we have done, & his holy power or light hath perſwaded our hearts to have true ſorrow and reall repentance for our ſins, with a broken and a contrite heart and ſorrowfull ſpirit, and ſo we begin to hate our ſelves and our ſins, and doe really forſake them, and doe confeſſe that we doe deſerve to bee for ever loſt and damned, and be deprived of God and goodneſſe for ever, becauſe we have choſen hell, death and devill, and joyned our ſelves unto it; but Gods mercy and goodneſſe hath inlightned our hearts with his law, and

hath really corrected us for our sin, and hath brought us to the beleefe of Jesus Christ by his law or fatherly correction; for he receiveth no sonne but whom he correcteth, and none comes to Jesus Christ but whom the Father drawes to him, and this drawing to Jesus Christ is by the law of discipline, and this law is the river Jordan or judgement, and Iohn the Baptist (or the light of Gods grace) that doth dip or dye us in the river Iordan or Iudgement of Gods gracious goodnesse, and this his judgement doth cleanse us from all our sinnes that were as red as scarled, and we come out as white as snow: and this is the first Baptisme in the Fathers Name.

2. I beleeve in Jesus Christ the only begotten Son of God or good, and that he is the reall substance of God, and that he is the goodnesse that proceedeth from God or good: And I beleeve that all good things are made in the man by him and through him, and that all goodnesse doth consist in him, and proceedeth forth of him into the man, for his goodnesse in us beareth in us our sinnes by his mighty power of patience and long sufferance, with grievous sufferings and agonies which hee hath for our sinnes, and there hee lyes or reignes in us till our sinnes bee vanquished or rooted out by this mighty power of patience and long sufferance; and when all our evill is overcome (by this power of his goodnesse) then he delivers us (which is the Kingdome of God) to his Father that God may be all in all.

3. I beleeve the Son of God or Righteousnesse, is borne of the holy virgin Mary; which virgine is the pure humanity, and this pure humanity is overshadowed by the Angell Gabriell, or the power of the most highest God: and this Son or righteousnesse of God is begotten upon the humanity, and it the promised seed to the man, which is borne for a blessing to all generations of man, as was promised.

4. I beleeve that this holy seed of blessing, the Sonne of God, Jesus Christ the Saviour of us, hath suffered death under Pontius Pilate the law of sinne in us, and that he dyeth for and to sinne in us, and is dead and buried, and in hell under our earthly beeing and man of sin: and he suffers for our sin in this hell, for they be all upon him, and he is nailed to the crosse of patience to endure all the reproaches and blasphemies, contempts and false defamations or accusations for our sinnes cause on him, and for the love of God and to us, hath taken us upon him that we should suffer with him all our own reproaches, contempts and sinnes to condemne us for doing them, and that wee should condemne and forsake them, and be dead to them, and they to us, by the power of Iesus Christ that saveth us in us; and this is the baptisme of the Sonne, and is the fiery tryalls, or the baptisme of fire with which he saveth his owne body or us, which is the humane nature that he hath taken on him to suffer

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for and with, and that it might be saved through him, and by his power in us; and whosoever doth not suffer this death with Christ for their sinnes, that is, to suffer under the law of sinne (death for sinne and to sinne) the death of the crosse, which is the patience and long sufferance of Christ to the killing of sinne in us, he is no Christian; let him brag how much he will of his Christianity, till he hath tasted the death and life of Christ, and that all this is come to passe in him; for they must all taste of this cup or passion, and be baptised with his baptisme: for if we doe not suffer and dye with him, we shall never rise and reigne with him.

5. I beleeve that the holy God, hath raised up his Sonne Jesus from the dead, and that he was three dayes and three nights in hell under the earthly man of sinne, and in the heart of his earthly being; and the first day he sheweth and discovereth unto man his sins, and the night of the day doth terrifie and wound the conscience, and doth feare the man which is the law of sin, or the wrath of God upon the man that sinneth. And the second day is the grace and power of God, which giveth the true sorrow and repentance for thy sins; and the night of that day, is that bloody fight, in which is the sweat and agony of death in thee that crucifies and kills thee for thy sins. And the third day is the power of Christ that gives thee victory over death, devill, hell and sins, so that thou art dead unto sin; and the night of this day is the patience and long sufferance of Christ in thee till thou hast overcome the evill one; for in this day and night is the whole mystery of Christ finished, and the Son of God is darkned in thee, and thou becommest dead and buried in him, and he in thee, so the last day is comming on to thee which is the resurrection of Christ in thee, and with thee, which is the new creature, or man of God, Jesus Christ, which was dead in thee, and with thee, and when you have suffered together, you shall reigne together in perpetuall joyes with him in God, for ever, and for ever.

I beleeve that this Jesus, or our Saviour, is ascended up to his Father, and doth carry them up that have suffered with him, and hath cleansed them, and prepared them a Kingdome for his Father, that God may be all in all in us; for he, Christ after the flesh (which is death and mortification) must reigne in us till all sin be subdued, and then he delivers us up to his Father: for he saith, except we eat his flesh and drinke his bloud there is no life in us; therefore let us eat this flesh and drinke this blood of mortification, and killing and crucifying our sins: This was the flesh of Christ that St. Paul spake of, saying, though he knew Christ after the flesh, yet now he knew him so no more: O that we had all eaten this supper of Christ, then were we happy, but till then most unhappy; for we must drinke this cup or passion, and shew the Lords death till he come in his life and glory.

7. I beleeve that Iesus shall come from the strength or right hand of God with all his Saints or Angels, or the good motions which are thousands of them, and they with Christ shall judge the quick and dead in us, which quick is himselfe and all his Saints and holy Angells to live, reigne and dwell in us, and judge the dead sins never to live any more in us, but be damned and lost for ever out of us: so this is the last day or light, or day of righteous judgement that shall last for ever in us. O that it were so come to passe in all, and that they might see this last and everlasting day or new day, which shall last for ever and for ever.

8. I beleeve in the Holy Ghost, and that he is the ancient of dayes, and is the love of the Father and of the Son, which is the reciprocall love of singing one to one, and this holy love or Holy Ghost hath joyned God and man together, and hath pulled downe all partition walls that hindered their comming together, and hath baptized or dipt or dyed the man in this his most holy life or holy spirit, and hath made him a holy house, Church or Temple for God to live and dwell in, and Christ is the head stone or foundation of this most holy house. O that all men were become this Temple or house of God to dwell in.

9. I beleeve that there is one holy Church, and this Church are all holy men that are without sinne, spot or wrinckle, for all holy men are the body of our Lord Iesus Christ; that is, cleansed by him and made pure, for hee is the head of a pure body, and there is no sin in his body or Church, nor is he head of a sinfull body, therefore looke to it you that are sinfull men, for you are not the members of Christs body or Church of Christ, as you may see in the fifth of the Ephesians, where it is evident that he saith, that his body or Church is without sin.

10. I beleeve that all sinnes are forgiven in this Church, for Christ hath forgiven them the sinnes that are past, and hath covered them with his holy life, so that those evills shall never rise against us more, but wee shall live and reigne over devill, death and hell with Christ for evermore, and sit with him at Gods right hand for ever and for ever.

11. I beleeve the resurrection of the flesh of Christ that is joyned to the humanity, and this flesh or death of Christ, with the humane nature shall arise into immortality, and for this mortality of theirs shall put on immortality, and all death shall be swallowed in victorionesse, so happy art thou, O man, that hast put on the flesh or mortality of Christ; for this flesh or mortality shall carry thee into everlasting immortality, and into everlasting life and joy of holy minds.

12. I beleeve that there is but this one holy and everlasting life, and this life

life is the holy life of God, and he hath chosen the man to live in it, and to be one with him for ever. Take it to heart, for this is the reall truth, and surely thou shalt finde it: so if thou seekest for it, thou shalt finde it, and it shall bee so unto thee.

CHAP. II.

A description of one spirit acting in all, which some affirme is God.

NOw what a spirit is, is to be considered; for all things appearing to the man he gave them severall names according to their natures, and as they appeared unto him; for in Gen. it is said, that Adam the man, gave every thing and creature his name according as his nature was to the man, and it was so, and could bee no otherwayes; for the genius and wisdome of God in man gave these severall names by his inspirations and lights which hee discovered to the man how the natures and qualities of things were, and they are really so, for they be named by the Spirit of God in man: but there are many cavellers that dispute about it, and would destroy all order, and bring all into confusion; for they say they cannot tell what a spirit is, nor what man or beast is, nor what fire, water, earth or aire is; yet they themselves see all these severall things, and their severall natures and operations in them and to them; so that if these things had no name they must of necessity give them some name, or else all the world would be dumbe, and have no discourse; for they could not discourse of these severall things (and their natures) unlesse they had names to call them by that the one might understand the other, and know what subject they speak of, and what each would have another to do; but these mad people love to confound themselves.

A spirit is that internall fire, life and motion of all things, as the spirit or fire, and life of herbes, and trees, which is named the negative spirit that manifesteth it selfe to the world and all other spirits. Now there is another spirit or fire that groweth and bloweth it selfe up into one organ, and feeleth any thing that toucheth it, and its name is the sensitative spirit. There is another

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ſpirit, eye, light or fire, that groweth and blowes it ſelfe upone an organ, whoſe name is called the rationall ſpirit or eye of capability and judgement, which diſcerneth all things in their order and place, and this is the man.

And there is another ſpirit, eye, light or fire, that is a motion joyned to the man, that diſcovers the reall truth of all things to him for his good or hurt, and his name is called the ſpirit of wiſdome or God, and this is the light or right eye to the man, that foreſeeth all things for his good, if he will regard his inſtructions.

And there is another ſpirit, eye, light or fire, that is a motion that moves to the man that he feeleth in his intellectuall, which is the ſpirit and eye of darkneſſe that looketh into all things for the mans harme, the which if hee looke through leads him into all folly and blindneſſe, and worketh him into all miſchiefe; and this ſpirit is the deſtruction of the man, and bringeth him to all miſery and calamity; and this ſpirits name is called the Devill, the worker of miſchiefe; for theſe two ſpirits move to the man in his intellectuall, and he feedeth, ſeeth and heareth them internally, and diſcourſeth with them as two men diſcourſe and talke one with another, and theſe ſpirits are inſtrumentall to the man to perſwade him to what he ſhall doe, for he can do nothing but by theſe inſtruments, the one for his good, the other for his harm, and he taſting of both he knowes the difference, and how oppoſite the ones is to the other, and how they change him and make him good or evill; for if any man doth good by the good inſtrument, hee that is ruled by the evill inſtrument contradicts the good works of the good, and the good inſtrument contradicts the man that is ruled by the evill inſtrument: but there bee ſome that ſay, the evill is good, and the good evill, which cannot be ſo; for the good is good ſtill to the man, and is one and the ſame for ever, and the evill is evill ſtill to the man, and is one and the ſame for ever; for if thou doſt evill to any man that evill is evill to thy ſelfe, and if that man that thou doeſt evill to, ſhould retort the like backe on thy ſelf, then thou wouldſt quickly be ſenſible that it is evill, and not call that evill good (falling upon thy ſelfe) which falling upon another thou didſt call good: for if thou ſhouldſt vaſſallize any man, a mule or ſtarve him, or cut off his limbs, and doe him all the harme thou couldſt, what good is this to thee? ſurely thy conſcience tells thee, it is evill and not good to thee; for thou doſt not like to have thoſe things done to thy ſelfe, for retorting and falling backe upon thy ſelfe thou findeſt is evill: So thou art evill and wicked, O man, whoſoever thou art that doſt thoſe things, and teacheſt another ſo to doe, for thou teacheſt him lies, that the evill is good, and the good evill, and thy owne conſcience condemnes thee in doing the evill,

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and so doth the conscience of the other whom thou teachest so to doe, also deluding him with thy lies to deceive himselfe with, for thou ought'st not to doe any thing to any man that thou dost not like to be done to thee, nor must thou doe that which thou wouldest not have done backe againe; for thou seest it is evill, say what thou wilt, to deceive thy selfe, for thou dost cosen thy selfe with these vaine delusions. Surely those that are of the minde that one spirit acts in all, would (if it were not for feare of the lawes of men) fall a cutting one anothers throats, and doe all mischiefe being devills one to the other in their passion, for they will admit of no law of goodnesse for their restraint. If but one man had this evill power to execute his will upon all the world for pleasure, then might it be thought to be good, but you see in all men a desire to have their will, therefore thou must expect, and it is just and right according to thy desert, that thou shouldest be killed for killing, and for stealing to restore double, or be his servant to worke it out, and make double satisfaction for his losse and troubling him, for this is the law of sin, and death for sin, and this is in man and can be no otherwise, for the evill that thee doth to another man riseth up in judgement against him, by the other whom he hath wronged to retort the like backe upon him, for this law of sin in the man saith, an eye for an eye, tooth for tooth, arme for arme, &c. and so with the froward to be froward, and evill for evill, saith the law of sinne in man, which is just to reward every man according to his owne evill workes: but thou canst not abide this law of sinne, for thou wouldst doe a great deale of mischiefe and injury to other men, and take pleasure in it, but that this pleasure brings this sting of death and paine backe againe to thee, which thou canst not abide, so this thy God or pleasure perisheth with the using, and changeth thy pleasure into pain by falling backe upon thee. But thou wilt say, that if thou murthrest a man in secret (so that none be private thereto but thy selfe) how can that murther be discovered, or the law of sin be executed upon thee? I answer, that the law of sin is in thy self, and riseth up in judgement against thee in condemning and wounding thy conscience, so that thou art weary of thy life (and in the end discovers thy selfe) never being at quiet till the law of sinne be executed upon thee; for we see few murthers that are long concealed: another question may be demanded, if this law of sinne (which seemeth to be good or God, and is executed upon thee) is not murther and cruelty likewise: I answer it is, and is thy God and ruler (in thy self-fallen estate) that is a furious God and a consuming fire, who will consume thee in his wrath and in his sore displeasure, for thy sinnes have raised up this furious God that holdeth thee in with a rough bit and bridle, whilst thou art a wilde asse colt that striveth to overthrow thy rider, and this cruell God shall be thy Lord, King and husband, and will tor-

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ment thee, to long as thou liveſt in thy ſinnes, and in thy heathenish nature for thy ſinnes have ſold thee into his hands; as it is ſaid in the Theſſalonians, that thou haſt thruſt the holy God out of his roome or Temple, and wouldſt not receive the love of the truth, that is the reall good or God, and is true life and joy to the man, who is one and the ſame for ever, and is no change to the man, as the deluſive God is, for he ſeemeth to be good, or is not the God, nor reall good to the man for ever, as the moſt holy God is: for if we breake the Law or Commandements of this angry God, he is very cruell and jealous, and will make us drinke the curſed and bitter waters that ſhall make our belly ſwell, and our thigh to rot if we breake his Commandement, commit adultery or Idolatry againſt him, for hee it is that worketh this evill of puniſhment in our City, and is that cruell thundering voice that terrifieth us and makes our hearts to tremble: we would faine be at quiet with our ſinnes, and delight our ſelves with our wicked abominations; but this God doth ſo trouble us, that we cannot injoy our wicked ſelves, hee doth ſo torment us, and ſhall doe ſo ſtill, till we are weary of our ſelves and ſinnes, and deſire to be freed from all, or to ſeek ſome way to pleaſe this furious God which wee by our ſinnes have raiſed up; for this law is added becauſe of the tranſgreſſions, and doth continue till ſinne endeth in us; but wee are not able of our ſelves alone to ſatisfie this ſevere God that is the ſtrong deluſion and conſuming fire (and is not the reall God or good to us, which we ſhall find in the ſecond world or creation) which now ſitteth in the Temple of God as God, and hath thruſt the reall holy God out of his roome, and is the juſt God that reigneth in the man of ſinne, being froward with the froward, rendering evill for evill, and is righteous with the righteous; for he is juſt in rewarding every one according to his workes: and although the man is ſo wicked that he cannot abide this judge, yet he ſhall be with this ſeeming God or good for ever, if he doe not hate and forſake himſelfe, and ſend for the mourning woman, and call and proclaime a faſt, and rent his heart and not his garments, which is an acceptable day to him, and ſeeke for the innocent Lamb to make ſatisfaction to this angry God, that he may overcome him with his innocent life: for when this innocent Lambe is borne in thee, he doth ſtrive and wreſtle with this ſevere God for thee, and doth overcome his wrath and evill with his goodneſſe; and if any do wrong him he doth not revenge, but doth good for evill, and ſo overcommeth this revenging God: he doth no wrong to offend this God, and when he hath wrong done him he will not become the evill God, or judge, to revenge evill for evill: thus and in this manner doth he take away the ſinnes of the world, and the law or puniſher of ſinne, and in taking away the cauſe, the effect ceaſeth: but whilſt the crucifying the man of ſinne is a doing, it makes the hu-

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manity in a great agony and bloudy ſweat in overcomming the ſinne and the wrathfull judge; and this is that moſt innocent Lambe which worketh all in all in us, and for us, and he is that ſtill and ſoft voice that lyeth in thy inmoſt ſelfe (and in the cave of thy earth) till thou ſeek, cry and call for him to ſave thee; therefore looke to it in time, and whilſt time doth laſt. What time is, and concerning man, I ſhall ſpeake more at large hereafter in this book. The ſpirit of man, and the two inſtrumentall ſpirits, is to bee ſeene and felt in the man and by the man, and is diſcerned by their ſeverall natures, the good inſtrument is juſtice with which the juſt doth juſtly; and prudence, with which the prudent doth uſe prudence; and fortitude, with which the ſtrong doth valiantly, the good in heart; and temperance, with which the temperate walketh temperately; and faith, with which one beleeveth that to be true that they doe not underſtand, if they ſee reaſon for it; and hope, with which one hopeth and confideth in that that is good; and charity, with which (having proper goods) he maketh them common to the good of another that needeth them; and patience, with which the patient overcommeth, and is not overcome; and piety, with which the pious condoleth the miſeries of another that is in miſery: ſo if thou art guided by theſe good vertues thou needſt not be afraid of the law of ſin, nor any thing elſe, for thy conſcience juſtifieth thee that thou doſt what thou wouldeſt have done to thee, and if any one is angry with thee for thy charity that thou uſeth to another, this evill flyeth in his own face and doth thee no hurt, for he condemneth the good hee would have done to him if he ſtood in need, and ſo he is a devill to himſelfe for condemning the good that thou doſt, for all evill flyeth in the faces of them that uſe it, ſo that none is ſo great an enemy to a man as himſelf: therefore thou art happy, ô man, whoſoever thou art, that is guided by the good ſpirit, for he is all good to thee, and the other is all evill: let it ſeem never ſo good to thee, yet thou ſhalt finde it ſo in the end, for his qualities are theſe: the firſt is avarice, with which the rich is poore and a begger, becauſe he knoweth not how to uſe his riches: and gluttony, with which the glutton is impriſoned, and is never free to injoy himſelfe in regard of his ſlavery to it: and leachery, with which the man uſeth the powers of his body unlawfully to his deſtruction: and pride, with which the proud man endeavours to be above all others, which is a lie and deceiveth him: and ſloth or negligence, with which the idle grieves at the good of another man, and rejoyceth at their harme: and envy, with which the envious deſires unjuſtly the goods of another, which covetouſneſſe is Idolatry: and wrath or anger, with which the angry man bindes his owne liberty, ſo that he is not free but is a ſlave to wrath or paſſion: and lying or a lie, with which the liar ſpeaks againſt the truth, doing great miſchiefe in the world:

and unconſtancie, with which the man is manifeſtly changeable, ſo that no good man dare truſt him: ſo thou mayeſt plainly ſee and diſcerne if thou wilt (for thy owne conſcience tells thee) which is the beſt of theſe two, thinke what thou wilt to deceive thy ſelfe, for none ſhall ſuffer for it but thy ſelf. This good inſtrument is the ten ſtringed inſtrument or harpe of David, on which he praiſed the Lord, and chaſed away the envious evill ſpirit of Saul; and thy ſoule being an eye or light that is compoſed of harmony and joy, this inſtrument (which is the moſt holy life) is given thee to ſound ſweet harmony to thy harmonious ſoule; for if thou ſound on the evill inſtrument of ten ſtrings, which inſtrument is that which was ſounded in Daniel before the Image, and made him be caſt into the Lions den, it raiſed up the moſt horrible ſound of thunder, lightning, and violent fire; ſo that if thy brutiall paſſions touch the mount where this ſound comes forth, he ſhall be ſhot through with a dart, for thy touching of this evill ten ſtringed inſtrument, hath raiſed up the moſt furious God that is a conſuming fire, who turnes thy joyes into ſorrow and pain, ſo that thy life is now a living death, and a dying life, which thou ſhalt finde by wofull experience; for thou thinkeſt thou knoweſt not what of thy ſelfe, that thou art ſomething, and that thou cameſt from nothing, then by conſequence thou art nothing, and to nothing muſt returne; ſo that thou art like a mad man that can give no reaſon of thy ſelfe from whence thou cameſt, and whither thou goeſt, and ſo doeſt what thou liſt and what ſeemeth beſt in thy owne eyes, although it bee never ſo much hurt to another man. O doſt not thou thinke that he that is the cauſe of thy appearance will take account of thy life, and of thy ſtewardſhip, and what thou haſt done here, whether good or bad, thy owne conſcience tells thee he will, therefore doe not deceive thy ſelfe with thy fallacies and deceits? Thou art that one ſpirit that is or may be acted in all, and thy ſpirit or eye is the great Abyſs of eternity, and thy eye doth or may looke in or through all eyes or worlds, whether good or evill, and if thou be joyned or looke through the evill eye, and art guided by that evill inſtrument, thou art moſt unhappy, and all that evill that is ſaid before falleth upon thee, and thou ſhalt or mayeſt for ever be with that evill eye or world, unleſſe thou deſire with all thy heart, ſoule and minde, to be changed and delivered out of this evill and wicked world; for it is thy will that hath damned thee by the evill inſtrument, and thy will ſaves thee by the good inſtrument, for thou art paſſive, and mayeſt be carried by thy will to give thy ſelfe to what thou pleaſeſt, to bee carried or ruled by the good or by the evill, and thou canſt not be joyned to both at once; therefore thou muſt be dead to the evill, and the evill to thee, before thou canſt be joyned to the good to bee moved thereby. Now when thou art acted by the evill inſtrument, thou calleſt

left evill good, and good evill; so that when thou thinkest it good, and takest pleasure in doing wrong or mischiefe to another, thou takest pleasure in a lie, and thinkest that evill to be good, because thou art not sensible, nor feelest the truth of the thing acted, but the fallacie, lie and deceit which deceiveth all mankinde; therefore all things are not to man as hee imagineth, for many imagine themselves to be better then other men, as Kings, Lords, and all others who thinke themselves great, taking pleasure in the same, although indeed and truth there is no such matter, for all men are alike and made of one mould; so that it may evidently appeare that they who doth thinke so, take pleasure in a lie, and this seemeth to them to be good: this lie transformeth himselfe into an Angell of light to be like the reall God or good, when indeed and truth, it is but a delusion, and a joy or pleasure which perisheth with the using; for the reall God or good is one and the same for ever, and no man or thing can take away that joy, for it continueth still the same, being no change; but thou takest pleasure in that which is nothing to thee, and grievest at that which is nothing to thee, so thy griefe and joy is lies; for when thou thinkest that to be to thee which is not reall indeed and in truth, thou deceivest thy owne soule, and none shall suffer for it but thy owne selfe: when thou abusest any man the action falleth upon him and he it is that feeleth it, and if the like action falleth upon thee thou feelest it in the same manner; for all actions of one kinde falleth alike to all that are passive or suffers, therefore deceive not thy selfe for thou that acteth is one, and he that suffers is another; and thou that acteth is not the other that suffereth; for that which is felt by the one is nothing to the other that feeleth not, for the passive and active are two, therefore doe not thou deceive thy selfe and take pleasure in that which is paine to another, for in doing so thou joyest, whereas thou wouldest grieve if it did fall upon thy selfe; and if harme fall to any man we should participate of his griefe as if it did befall us, and not rejoyce at anothers harme, for this is the delusion of the Devill to rejoyce where is no cause of joy, but is his own imagined joy, which is a lie, and perisheth with the using; and to grieve where is no cause of griefe, is a delusion and lie to torment our selves withall, as some doe torment themselves that they have not so much means and riches as they would have, and such honour and estimation as they would have, or to be so well or better thought of then others; and they grieve that they cannot doe as much mischiefe as they intended to doe, and they grieve when any shews mercy or charity to another whom they hate, although they see that other stand in need of his charity, and doth say that this action of charity is a Devill to that man that hated him, and God to him that received it, so making an action to be God or the Devill; canst not thou discerne the fallacie and the

lie here? is this charity any thing to thee seeing thou didst not receive it? if it had been to thee, and thou hadst received the same, it had beene as good to thee as to him, for all things fall alike to all as was said before: therefore thou rejoycest at thou knowest not what till thou feelest the same, and seest where the fallacie lyes: wherefore when thou discernest the fallacie, thou mayest see that thou oughtest to be glad when any good commeth to another as if it had come to thy selfe; for nature tells us, that we should make every mans case our owne: and the Scripture speaketh (without exception) saying, Rejoyce with them that rejoyce, and receive good, and grieve with them that grieve or receive hurt or harme; but to grieve at another mans joy or good, is the Devill that grieveth where no cause of griefe is; for in grieving at the other mans joy hee imagineth a lie (which is not the truth of that joy in the other man) so tormenting himselfe with that which is not; for if that joy of the other were in thee it could not be griefe, but thou deludest thy selfe when thou makest anothers griefe thy joy, or his joy thy griefe, and so thy faith or beleefe is that that is not, but is a lie, for joy is not griefe, nor griefe joy; but thou dost deceive thy selfe in saying anothers griefe is thy joy, or his joy thy griefe, for anothers joy or griefe can be nothing to thee in reallity, but by participation, and so it is thy joy or griefe, and no otherwayes, so that by participation, we rejoyce with them that rejoyce, and grieve with them that grieve, and when wee doe the contrary (as to grieve at anothers joy, or joy at his griefe) it is a deluſion of the Devill that maketh joy seem griefe, and griefe seem joy, by his deceitfull fallacies; and when thou shalt looke with a righteous and just eye, then thou shalt see all these fallacies and deceits, wherein thou hast so willingly coſer ed thy selfe to lose thy owne soule: but thou thinkest thou canst not lose it; for thou thinkest thou art something, and nothing, and it is no matter let every thing run which way it will, all things will bee well at last, but thou art as greatly mistaken in this, as thou art in the rest, as thou shalt find by woefull experience when it falls upon thee, and it is as true as thou art, and that there is a God, that thou must answer for all that thou hast done whether good or evill, to him that is the cause of thy appearance, think what thou wilt to deceive thy selfe. So thou thinkest also that all things else is something and nothing, when something is something still, for there is no such thing as nothing, neither is there any demonstration or words to expresse the same, therefore in saying thou knowest nothing, it is true so farre and in this manner, thou canst not possibly know that that is not, but canst know something, and possibly all things if thou hast to doe with all or some; for that that thou usest and hast to doe with all thou knowest its qualities, for all things hath quallities and quantities, and are to be knowne by the same; and as their qual-

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lities be, ſo are they called and named, for every thing hath its ſeverall quallity and ſo a ſeverall name, and thy owne eyes ſees theſe ſeverall things and their quallities, for thou ſeeſt the quallity of fire that it will conſume or burne any thing that is put in it, and ſome things it will melt, and harden others; ſo thou ſeeſt really what fire is by theſe quallities, and it is verily ſo and very true, and is no other thing then it ſhews it ſelfe to be: and the quallity of water is to moyſten and cleanſe, or to quench thirſt or fires, and many other things that I need not expreſſe, which is really ſo as it manifeſteth it ſelfe to all the world, and can be no other thing then as it is manifeſted: And the aires quallity is manifeſted by many ſeverall operations, for it makes the fire burne and ſet forth his quallity, and it deadneth and taketh away the life of many thing, and reviveth and refreſheth many things that walke in it, and many other operations of life and death it hath which I cannot expreſſe: And the earth hath divers ſetting forth of its quallities, as to make all ſeeds ſet forth themſelves in their ſhapes and formes, making them appeare to all the world: and all theſe ſeeds and herbes have their ſeverall quallities and ſetting forthof themſelves, which thoſe who ſtudy nature can ſet forth and ſhew the reall truth of by their effects; for the leaſt herbe, tree or mettall, or any other living creature hath his ſeverall quallities, as the Galeniſt, Herbaliſt, or thoſe who ſtudy meralls finde out; and thoſe Doctors and Phyſitians ſee the ſeverall qualities of things with the antipathies and ſimpathies of their ſeverall quallities, and it is really ſo, and they be the very ſame thing as they ſet themſelves forth to be, for their nature is really declared by theſe their quallities.

Now every man and woman hath ſeverall quallities, and is proper ſelfe, and their quallities are either antipathies or ſimpathies one with another, for the natures of ſome are ſo oppoſite, and there is ſuch antipathy that they cannot agree nor abide to live one with the other, but in continuall oppoſition; and there are others whoſe natures and quallities doe ſympathize, and thoſe doe agree and live moſt happily together in ſweet ſociety: now every mans nature is as his complexion is, and is compoſed of the ſpirituall elements of earth, water, aire, and fire, which is the intellectuall and internall man: I doe not meane the earth, water, aire, and fire that is materiall (and thoſe lower elements which is a dead matter) but the intellectuall, internall and ſpirituall elements which are all ſpirit and life; for ſome men and women are compounded moſt of the ſpirituall element of fire, and they are more full of fury and wrath; and another is more compounded of aire, and hee is more amorous, ſweet and pleaſantly diſpoſed, and given more to the act of generation then any other, for his minde is full of ſpirits that would appeare by him; for the ſpirits of men and women doe more animate the aireall man then any other

to make them appeare in this lower elementary world; the reaſon is, becauſe he is moſt flexible, and more eaſie to be moved by their inſtigation to bring them forth: and the flegmaticke man that is more compounded of the ſpirituall waters is more dull, and his capacity cannot very ſoone reach or conceive any thing, but when he receives he will hardly loſe it againe, whether good or bad, therefore it is good for him to have his mind ſet upon the beſt object: and the man that is more compounded of the ſpirituall earth, he is of the moſt deep reaching minde of all, for he hath all the elements more powerfully contracted together in him, and he containes more of them then all the reſt, being more capatious; and if his minde be ſet upon the evill object the Devill, hee is the moſt wicked that is upon the earth, and the Devill can worke more miſchiefe by him then by all the reſt, for his capatious minde can ſooner conceive miſchiefe (when it is ſhewed him) then all the reſt beſides, and the Devill by him doth moſt prodigious and horrid cruelties, although hee doth enough and too much by all; for this wicked ſpirit through and by them all, ſets Kingdomes together by the eares, making one to kill another, perſwading them to take pleaſure in doing ſuch miſchiefe, but it is a mad pleaſure and wickedneſſe ſo to doe, and ſo it will be found in the end, let them thinke as well as they will of it for the preſent: ſometimes they ſet Countries on fire, conſuming all their victualls and corne, and this they take pleaſure in, but if rightly conſidered it is miſerable paine and madneſſe, for they themſelves come afterward to ſuffer ſuch miſery and want for their waſtefull ſpoyling and conſuming of things, that they ſtarve and dye for hunger, and are forced many times to eat one another, as may be ſeen and heard of where theſe practiſes are. If this be God or good that acteth thoſe things, and tells me that it is pleaſure, I will abandon ſuch a god as the moſt abominable and hatefull thing that is, and deſire to have nothing to doe with ſuch an abominable and wicked god that blindes my eye, and makes me thinke good to be evill, and evill good; for the Scripture ſaith, Woe to him that calleth evill good, and good evill, and light darkneſſe, and darkneſſe light; for wee are all ready to miſtake, but our nature and quallities cannot be altered, for we uſe our quallities and natures upon what object we light on, whether good or evill: For the cholericke man, which is moſt compoſed of fire, if he light upon the evill inſtrument, he hath ſo many ſeverall temptations to wrath and anger, that his ſoule or himſelfe is never at quiet for one diſturbance or other, and many times in his wrath the Devill tempts him to kill a man, and he is in continuall vexations; ſo that he is in a living death, and dying life, although he ſee it not, but loves this living death more then the everlaſting life which hath no bitterneſſe therein, but is full of all ſweet content, and all the workes that this

life

life or ſpirit animates thee to doe, breeds thee no ſting, diſcontent or any thing to be repented off; but this evill inſtrument animates thee unto horrid and cruell things full of miſchiefe, which cruelties riſeth up in thy conſcience and flyeth in thy face, making thee condemne thy ſelfe, ſaying, what a wicked man and beaſtlike wretched creature am I that doth ſuch wicked actions, I would not have ſuch things done to me, why would I doe thus to another? ſure there ſhall ſome heavy judgement fall upon mee, and I ſhall have the ſame meaſure met to me againe, and ſo ſtill the law of ſinne flyeth in the wicked mans face, and is called the law of God or the wrath of God, that moveth man to repent for the wickedneſſe he hath committed, and to condemne and arraigne himſelf at this barre of Gods judgement within himſelfe, which ſhews him all his ſins and wicked life, and ſo hee kills and crucifies himſelfe with theſe horrible wounds of conſcience in him, and is never at quiet, nor never ſhall till the cauſe is taken out of the way, which cauſe is the Devill and ſinne, and there muſt a greater power take away this death with another death (that is by the death of Chriſt being a death unto Devill and ſinne) which death is called the death of Chriſt in us, that fighteth againſt our ſinnes and all our luſts and affections, and crucifieth all our ſin and ſinfull life, ſo that there is no more ſin, death and devill in us; for it is this death of Chriſt that deſtroyes the death for ſin, and the cauſe of ſin, which death of ſin was done by the law for ſin executed upon ſinne ſo taking away the cauſe and the effect, which cauſe was the devill and ſin, and the effect was the law of ſinne; ſo that when the cauſe is taken away, of neceſſity the effect muſt ceaſe: and this death or mortality of Chriſt, ſhall raiſe us up into immortality; ſo that we may ſay, O death, where is thy ſting? O grave, where is thy victory? for the ſtrength of our ſins was the law of ſinne, which law or wounds of conſcience was our grave wherein we were dead and buried: ſo this death of Chriſt hath freed us from all deaths and mortallities, and his death and mortallity will bring us into the true ſweet and everlaſting life, which I deſire all ſoules may come into and injoy. Now he whoſe ſpirit is moſt compoſed of ſpirituall fire (as was ſaid before) when he was ruled by the evill inſtrument doing ſuch wrathfull and cruell things, when he is turned to God and goodneſſe, his quallity and nature of fire is turned into burning zeale, ſo that he is on fire of love to doe all goodneſſe, and is never well but when he can doe ſome deeds of charity and love to others; ſo that his minde is ſwallowed up in God, and this his nature and quallity of fire is turned to all God or goodneſſe, for the Divine Nature is wholly incorporated in him; the which I deſire all fiery and choloricke men may attain unto.

As for the ſpirituall ayreall or ſanguine man, if he ſets his nature or quallity upon

upon the evill inſtrument, hee is very laſcivious and given to leachery, gluttony, and drunkenneſſe, and to all vaine pleaſure which doth beſot the minde, for nothing doth beſot the minde ſo much as leachery and drunkenneſſe, and all theſe his follies doe flye in his face, calling him foole and ſot, and it doth ſo beſot them to all good, that it makes them careles of wife, children, and all other friends, and makes them apt only to deviſe a thouſand plots and miſchiefes to maintaine their beaſtly, brutiall and ſenſuall life, ſo that they ſpend all their owne eſtates and other mens, and in the end goe a begging or live upon others, and they defile and ſpoyle their owne bodies with the pox and other diſeaſes, ſo ſpoyling both body and minde with their ſenſuall living, for they are in an extaſie below themſelves, and raviſhed with a brutiall and ſenſuall life; and this their evill inſtrument (the Devill or unreaſonableneſſe) hath brought them to: and when they have loſt their organicall man, then commeth in their greater griefe or hell, becauſe they cannot execute their beaſtly and ſenſuall life; ſo they are tormented in that they cannot doe as they formerly did when they had a body here, for their minde is upon nothing elſe but on their beaſtly, brutiall and ſenſuall life, which periſheth with the uſing, leaving them in great diſcontents; and the Devill ſets alwaies this joy and pleaſure before their eyes, and the want of their bodies to execute their former fooleries, which want torments them to the death, ſo that they are in a living death, and dying life, and the law of ſinne ſtill riſing out of their conſcience condemneth them for what they have done, and for what they deſire, and ſo they are with death and hell, except they could returne: but the Scripture ſpeaketh of time, and of a day, and whilſt time doth laſt; and he ſaith, there is an appointed time, and after that time there is no time more, for in that time the death of Chriſt ſhould have taken away death and the cauſe of death, which is the Devill and ſinne, who hath brought them into this miſerable condition under the law of ſinne and condemnation which is the ſecond death: for he ſaith, in dying thou ſhalt dye the death; ſo then all men of all quallities and complexions ſhall be in this condition for ever, except they bee amended by the death of Chriſt, for he is that innocent Lambe which taketh away the ſinnes of the world, and ſo maketh amends for all.

Now when this ayreall or ſanguine man returneth, and is moved by the good inſtrument which is God, and doth wholly follow him, then doth God raviſh his minde with his ſweet contents and raviſhing joyes, ſo that his ſoule is taken off from all things below, and is never at quiet but in this ſweet contemplation: for he ſings in minde, rejoycing in the ſpirit, ſo that his ſoule is wrapt up in God and goodneſſe, and hee ſheweth forth to all the world all love and goodneſſe, ſo that happy is that man that can injoy his company: I doe

doe earneſtly wiſh that all ayreall or ſanguine men or women, may ſet their minde upon the holy God that they may injoy this good, for their minde in this eſtate, is carried up in ſuch raptures in the holy God, that they live here below in this world as if they lived not.

As for the phlegmaticke or ſpirituall watry man, which hath a dull and groſſe capacitie if he ſuffer his minde to be moved by the evill inſtrument, hee is ſo ſtrongly ſet on him that he will very difficultly leave him; and he maketh him live ſo lazily that he is good for nothing, and ſetteth his minde on all laſciviouſneſſe, on evill ſurmiſings and ſuſpitions, conſtruing all things in the worſt ſenſe, ſo that he is never at quiet for one ſuſpition or another, being in continuall miſtruſt of every one, becauſe his capacity is ſhallow, and the Devill hath blinded his eyes with theſe fallacies, ſo that he thinketh every one to be his enemy; and he doth a great deale of miſchiefe in theſe his evill ſuſpitions thinking to begin with others firſt, and in his blindneſſe of minde doth undoe himſelfe and others, and then riſeth up the law of ſinne in his minde tormenting him, accuſing him of what miſchiefe he hath done to others without any other cauſe, ſave only his owne wrong apprehenſions, and ſo this law of ſinne condemnes and wounds him to the death, till the death of Chriſt takes away this death, and the cauſe of this death, which is the devilliſh deluſions, and the evill ſurmiſings which makes him do all this miſchiefe to others without a cauſe: And if this ſpirituall watry or phlegmatick man forſake the evill inſtrument with all his ſoule and minde, and returne to the holy God, or good inſtrument with his whole ſtrength and minde to bee joyned to and ruled thereby, then all his thoughts are ſet upon goodneſſe, and then doth hee conſtruct all things in the beſt ſenſe which is done to him, and he ſeeth all things that fall croſſe in this world, to be good for him, to wean and draw his love from earthly thiugs which periſh with theuſing, and his minde is wholly ſwallowed up in God and goodneſſe, and all his thoughts and contemplations are upon God, and hee ſheweth forth nothing in all his life but God and goodneſſe to the whole world, and to the ſonnes of men, for his life is ſwallowed up in the moſt holy Godhead; if all the phlegmatick men and women were come to this eſtate, then were they happy, but till then moſt unhappy.

And for the ſpirituall earthly or melancholly man, if hee joyne himſelfe to the evill inſtrument the Devill to be ruled thereby, he is wiſeſt of all in doing miſchiefe, for he hath a vaſt capacity and can receive all ſuggeſtions, and (as was ſaid formerly) by him is acted the greateſt cruelties, and therefore hee hath the greater wounds of conſcience; for the law of ſinne raiſeth up all his cruell deeds againſt him, ſo that his ſoule is heavily vexed unto the death, and he hath ſuch feare and dread in him, that he wiſheth that he had never been,

for he hath ſuch fearfull and melancholy thoughts that every houre he feareth to be torne in peeces, and this is in him till the death of Chriſt takes away the cauſe, and then this wounding law of ſin will ceaſe: but many love their ſins too well to part with them, to let Chriſt take them away, and ſo they live and dye with them, ſo that the Devill and they are together for ever and for ever in his world which is without end; for the beginning of his world is the ending with the man, for the beginning and ending is with the man one and the ſame for ever; for as he was at firſt to him, ſo hee is the laſt and the ſame for ever, for he changeth not but continueth ſtill evill: therefore, O man, looke to it in time, and whilſt time doth laſt, for after one time there is no time more, and looke to it before the decree (whereof the Prophet ſpeaketh) come forth, for after that decree is paſt, there is no hope; therefore looke to it whilſt it is called to day, and whilſt this day doth laſt in thee, which day is Jeſus Chriſt that commeth to help and ſave thee; but if thou doſt not regard this day or Jeſus Chriſt, then the decree commeth forth to thee, which is the eternall black night of death and darkneſſe, which darkneſſe or night, is the depriving thee of Gods grace and comfort, for thou regardeſt it not when it was offered to thee, and ſo in deſpiſing it thou ſhalt bee for ever without it, thinke as much as thou wilt to the contrary; for as ſure as there is a God, and as thou liveſt, this will come to paſſe upon thee if thou doſt not looke to it before all theſe things come to paſſe in thee: ſo if this melancholy and earthly man forſake the Devill and evill one, and turne to God and goodneſſe, to bee joyned to and guided by him, he conceiveth more of the ſecret myſteries of God then all the reſt, for hee findeth out all the deepeſt myſteries, and all things are opened unto him; for as he hath ſuffered more, ſo more is revealed to him, and ſo God and he are joyned for ever in all love, and he is in everlaſting joy and comfort in God for ever and for ever. I wiſh that all ſpirituall earthly and melancholy men and women may bee joyned to this everlaſting joy and comfort.

Whereas I have ſpoken of the deluſive God in this Chapter, I deſire I may not be miſtaken, for the Scripture ſpeaketh of two Gods, the moſt holy God, and the wicked God of this world that blindeth the eyes of mankinde; one is the reall good, and the other is the reall evill. And the Scripture maketh mention of two Sathans, Devills or evills; and of two guiles or two deluſions; the one Sathan, guile, evill or deluſion, is for the good of the man; and the other Sathan, guile or deluſion is for his utter deſtruction; for the inceſtuous perſon was delivered to the good Sathan or evill, for the deſtruction of his ſinfull fleſh, that his ſpirit or ſoule might be ſaved in the day of the Lord: and St. Paul tooke his diſciples with a good guile, and made them grieve and

mourn,

mourne, deceiving them by that godly ſorrow for their good. And in the Theſſa. it is ſaid, that God did ſend them ſtrong deluſions that they ſhould beleeve a lie, becauſe they would not receive the love of the truth. Now all the deluſions that God ſends to the man is for his good, and the deluſion is, that he worketh ſuch a beliefe and perſwaſion in the mans heart for the ſinnes cauſe, that he ſeemeth to the man to bee nothing elſe to him but wrath, fury, and deſtruction; and thus hee terrifieth man to make him forſake ſinne for his good, and to make him returne from his evill life: for whatſoever God doth too or for the man, it is for his reall good, whatſoever the man thinketh to the contrary; and it is juſt ſo, as if a father ſhould correct his childe for his good and future profit, although for the preſent it ſeem contrary to him; even ſo is man deluded by Gods fatherly diſcipline and law, till ſinne ceaſe in him, and then this rod, diſcipline or deluſion (which kept him in awe or fear to offend God) ſhall be taken away; that is to ſay, when ſinne wholly ceaſeth in him, and when he ceaſeth to offend God his Father any more: and this is the evill which is ſpoken of by the Prophet ſaying, Is there any evill in the city, and I the Lord have not done it? that is the evill of puniſhment. And that lying ſpirit ſpoken of in the Kings (that the Lord did ſend to be a deluder in the mouth of the falſe Prophets) was ſent for a puniſhment to them, becauſe they would not believe the truth; and this is done to reclaime the man, and to let him ſee his errors, and that he may returne home againe to the reall truth: And againe it is ſaid, hee created the deſtroyer to deſtroy, and hath ſent forth the evill Angells with flaming fire, rendring vengeance to thoſe that will not know God. And it is ſaid in the Pſalmes by David, and in Job, That the arrows of the Almighty ſtucke faſt in him, all which evills, wraths, furies, or deluſions, is the law of ſinne which was added becauſe of the mans tranſgreſſion, and they ſhall continue with him (as I have formerly ſaid) till ſin ceaſe in him: but God in himſelfe is none of all theſe, for he is a moſt pure and holy Spirit, and is ſubject to no paſſions, but is a reall eſſence full of goodneſſe, neither is there any thing can change or diſturbe him: but the evill one tranſformeth himſelfe into an Angell of light, to delude and deceive the man with his ſeeming goodneſſe for his hurt, loſſe and damnation: So the moſt holy God, by his miniſtering ſpirits aſſumes an Angell of darkneſſe, or taketh upon him the body of ſinne to deſtroy ſinne; and in the Scripture the Divinity is ſometimes ſaid to be Sathan in the deſtroying of ſinne, being evill, with the evill, and he is ſaid to be Lucifer the ſonne of the morning, or that morning ſtarre that is fallen in our hearts, for hee could fall no where elſe, and it muſt be hee that is that day or morning ſtarre that ſhall ariſe in our hearts againe: ſo wee muſt looke into the Scripture with a righteous eye, and conſider it

rightly in its order and place, how all things hang and depend one upon another, or elſe we ſhall loſe our ſelves, and confound the Scriptures, or forſake and neglect them as many doe, becauſe they ſee many ſeeming contradictions not having the ſpirit of unity to reconcile or unite them together; for it ſpeaketh ſometimes, and in ſome caſes that man is paſſive, and God active, and that God is paſſive in ſome caſe, and man the active; and in ſome caſe it is ſaid that the Divinity ſuffers for ſinne and doth all in all, and ſometimes it is underſtood that the humanity ſuffers for ſinne; therefore if wee have not the ſpirit of the moſt holy Godhead, we cannot finde out the intricacies and ſecret myſteries of the ſpirit and minde of the holy written word, and how all things ſtand in their orders and places: for ſome things ſeeme ſtrange, as that God which is all goodnes ſhould deſtroy ſo many for Davids numbring the people; and in one place of the Scripture it is ſaid, that God moved him to number the people, and in another place it is ſaid, that Sathan moved him to number them; and in the fifteenth of Jeremy it is ſaid, that he would deſtroy ſo many with ſeverall deaths for the ſinnes of Manaſſes: ſo that the Prophet Jer. was troubled and ſaid, that the Lord ſeemed to him to be a liar, becauſe hee thought theſe things ſeemed ſtrange to him to come forth of goodneſſe; but all theſe things are ſecret myſteries hidden from all ſinfull fleſh and bloud, and none ſhall ſee them aright but thoſe which have ceaſed from ſinne; for God and man have been for ever together, and they both have appeared in time to each other, and in this time there hath beene a partition wall let in by the man which hath parted their union of love, ſo that the man ſeemeth to fight againſt God and goodneſſe, and God fighteth againſt man and his evilneſſe, and nothing can be diſcerned rightly by the man till the partition wall of ſin be pulled downe; ſo in the end of time that holy Jeſus the Sonne of God pulleth down all partition walls that have made the diviſions betwixt God and man, and he uniteth them againe in all lovely unity.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

A deſcription of the Scripture according to the hiſtory and myſtery thereof.

MOSES hath ſpoken of the Creation of the World, and certainly it cannot bee that he meaneth this externall world; for I could never heare any true reaſons that can bee given to prove the ſame, for it ſtands at one ſtay, and the Sunne, Moone, and Starres keepe one courſe; and the Sea runs her race up and down, and they ſtill are one and the ſame in their orders and places; neither doe they increaſe or decreaſe to or from what they firſt ſeemed to be unto man, nor doe they wax old as a garment, nor as the creatures which we ſee appeare that have a beginning and ending; for we ſee every ſpirit that appeares here hath a created body which increaſeth and is diminiſhed, and is gone againe and is ſeene no more: but this externall world is one and the ſame for ever, for any thing I could ſee or heare to the contrary.

The greateſt multitude of men beleeve it to bee created of nothing, but I cannot ſee nor heare any reaſon for the ſame, becauſe that of nothing can come nothing; then what muſt it be made off? for ſure it cannot be made of the moſt holy God as ſome do imagine and ſay, that there was nothing before but God, and therefore of neceſſity (if it be as they alleadge) he muſt make all things of himſelfe, but it cannot ſtand with reaſon that out of one ſhould come ſo many antipathies; therefore without all queſtion the moſt holy Godhead that is one is of a more pure and excellent nature then theſe lower changeable elements of earth, water, ayre, and fire, of which this lower world is compoſed off; for this lower world bringeth forth nothing but his owne nature, as earth, water, aire and its ſpirit of fire, from which all ſpirits have borrowed a body which they cannot keep for ever, becauſe its nature is changeable and runneth or whirling round, never ſtanding at one certaine ſtay; for the Sunne (which is ſoule, fire or life of this world) never ſtandeth ſtill but every yeare runneth his race round, and in his running he melts, hardens, congeales, wi-

thers, and makes grow green, ſo that there is a continuall death and reſurrection every yeare of things under the Sunne; for nothing ſtands at one ſtay but is in continuall motion and change, and in this change is, was, and ſhall be one and the ſame for ever; for no man can conſume, diminiſh, or annihilate the leaſt atom or duſt, or bring any thing that is to nothing, neither can any man finde the beginning or end of things; but thou haſt borrowed a garment or body which did lye potentially in that matter, and when thou makeſt it appeare, it is ſaid to be a beginning to thee, and when thou leaveſt it as it was, it is called an ending to thee: As for the world whereof Moſes ſpeaketh (that the moſt holy God made) certaine it is ſome more excellent, better, or purer world for man to live in then this: for hee hath no true content here in this world or body of clay; for this world is the viſible God or good that is in continuall change, but in the inviſible world or inviſible God is no change nor ſhadow of turning, but is one and the ſame for ever: if thou borrow a body or garment of this internall and inviſible world, he never looketh for it again, for he is the righteous that lendeth never looking for it againe. O that all ſoules did keep this body or garment that was given them out of this internall world, that they might ſee with thoſe eyes the Sun, Moon, and all the glorious orders of Starres, which glorious world is for thee, O man, therefore look for thy internall garment that is given thee for ever; for the eyes or lights of this body ſhall never wax dimne, but in thoſe lights or eyes we ſhall ſee and behold the eternall eye or light from whence thoſe our eyes or lights came, which ſhall be our everlaſting body that wee need not feare loſing or changing, for it continues one and the ſame for ever, being the free gift of the internall God.

There is a time wherein it ſeemeth to us that we had a beginning to this internall and inviſible body, although indeed and in truth this body hath neither beginning nor ending, becauſe it lay potentially hid in God and in his eſſence, for its beginning to us is its ending, becauſe the beginning reacheth unto eternity, and we ſhall for ever have this body if we doe not loſe and diſregard it, as I feare we all have done; for wee have not remembred our Creator in theſe dayes of our youth, before our evill dayes came, wherein we have had no pleaſure; for our evill dayes is this, when we diſregrad this holy body, and then thoſe eyes begin to wax dim in us, though in themſelves they are one and the ſame for ever; and thoſe grinders ceaſe from eating the internall life, the food of our ſoules, and the mourners ſhall carry this dead body about the ſtreets and walks of our hearts, mourning and grieving for us and for our great loſſe, and this is the grieving of the holy Spirit by whom we are ſealed & made ſonnes of God; for we have quenched, crucified, and killed this holy body of

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the Lord which he gave us for a garment for ever to cover our nakednesse, and so he returnes to that holy divine earth from whence he came, and the soule, spirit, or life of that body, returnes to him that gave it. And now, O man, what shall we doe for our great losse? for we see nothing but death on every side, for this externall world is but a living death to us, for wee are in continuall expectation to be called out of it; and besides there is one that is worse then death that followes us to cloath us with his mortall garments or body of wickednesse: for he prepareth a body which is a lie or delusion, and shews us a body which is a lie or vanity to cloath us with, so that this body is worse then death, for it is a living death, and dying life, and we were better to bee dead and (and if possible to be annihilated quite) then to live in such a wicked body of sinne and death: and it had beene better we had never beene borne or brought forth in it, as Job saith, cursing the houre of his birth, and the day wherein he was borne, and wisheth that he had dyed in the birth, and that he had never been seen in this wicked world; therefore we see many worlds, yet cannot see what reason man hath to believe that this externall world was ever made as he imagineth, seeing there will follow so many absurdities on it; for what reason can be given that there was but one man and one woman at first, seeing there is blackmores or men, and white, and it is contrary to nature and impossible for a man naturally black or blackmore to bring forth a white, or a white to bring forth a blacke, and we see it so by experience? and when Cain killed Abel, the Lord being angry with him, said, that he should be a vagabond and runnagate; Cain answered, that his punishment was greater then he could beare, and if any man should meet him he should kill him, when there was none to kill him; for if there was but one man and woman created at first, there was but his father and he in the world; and afterward it is said that hee went into the land of Nod, and tooke him a wife, who did inhabit that land, and what man was the father of his wife? how can all these things bee made good by the letter of the Scripture? or doe you thinke that there was a materiall garden, or a tree whereon did grow the fruit of good and evill, or that a Serpent did goe up in the same to speake to the woman? sure it cannot stand with reason that it could be so, for it is said that all the creatures did come to Adam, and he gave them names according to their natures: now it is contrary to the Serpents nature to speake after the manner of men, unlesse you will alledge that she understood the language of the beasts, and thought them wiser then God, and resolved to be ruled by them, which to me seems altogether against reason, that the woman should be so ignorant and irrationall, who was created rationall after the image of God to be ruler of all creatures: for at this day if a Serpent went up into a tree, and did speake from thence to men and

women,

women, it would make them afraid in ſo much that they would not doe what he bid them: or doſt thou thinke that in Meſopotamia (a great way off beyond the ſeas) that there is a materiall garden wherein ſtandeth the tree of life, and the tree of knowledge of good and ill, both in one place, and an Angell ſtanding with a flickering ſword to keep the tree of life from the man; and that Adam and Hevah were caſt out of this garden (for harkening to the Serpent) to till the earth, and that it ſhould bring forth nothing but thorns and thiſtles, all which in my judgement cannot ſtand with reaſon or truth? for the Scripture ſaith, that none ſhall be ſaved but thoſe who ſhall eat of the tree that is in the paradiſe of God: why then doe not all ſoules or men goe to looke for this paradiſe and garden of Eden to eat of this tree of life whereby they muſt be ſaved, for none can be ſaved without it? And why doe not all men and women goe to fight with this Angell that holdeth this ſword which keepeth them from the tree of life, and conſequently from ſalvation? I ſee none, nor heard I ever any that went to ſeek out this garden, Angell, nor tree of life: and ſo if the Scripture be to be underſtood according to the litterall ſenſe, or this a materiall garden, none can be ſaved becauſe the ſame hath never been found out by any ſince the fall of Adam: and that earth which is ſaid to bring forth nothing but thornes and thiſtles, cannot be the externall earth, for we ſee it bringeth forth very good herbes, fruit and corne, fit for the uſe of the externall manhood, and but few thornes and thiſtles.

Therefore, O man, looke not thou on the hiſtory of the Scripture, but upon the myſtery which is hidden ſince thy wicked world began, for theſe are all holy and ſacred myſteries which are hid from all fleſhly and ſinfull hearts, whoſe foreskin of ſin is before them as a partition wall: therefore, O man, let thy partition wall be pulled downe by the mighty power of God in thee, and let the foreskin of thy ſinfull fleſh bee cut off, and be thou plunged, dipped, dyed, or baptiſed in the moſt holy and divine nature, or in the moſt holy Godhead; for if thou goeſt into this river of Jordan or judgement as red as bloud with thy ſinnes, thou ſhalt come forth as white as ſnow, and then thou ſhalt ſee all theſe ſecret and holy myſteries which are revealed to perfect and juſt men, and to no other; for to the wicked and ſinfull men, it is a cloſed booke, and a dead letter, for S. Paul ſaith in the ſecond chap. of the ſecond to the Corinths, that he ſpeaketh the wiſdome of God to them that are perfect, for none can underſtand it but ſuch as are perfect and without ſinne, for to the wiſe of this world the wiſdome is fooliſhnes, and they laugh it to ſcorne, and thinke it meer madneſſe, as Felix did of Paul, ſaying, That too much learning had made him mad. O that all ſoules, had this fooliſhneſſe and madneſſe, it would be more pretious to them then all the wiſdomes and riches of this

world,

world, for the wiſdome of this world is earthly, ſenſuall, and divilliſh, all which periſh with the uſing; and the fooliſhneſſe and madneſſe of God (as men eſteem) is to us our right and perfect minde. O that all men were baptiſed into the Father Son, and Holy Ghoſt, then ſhould they ſee things cleerly and never have more trouble in ſoule, then ſhould they know all good things, and all teares ſhould be wiped from their eyes, and be in everlaſting raviſhing joyes and ſweet content of minde.

As for the ſeven Nations (that the Scripture maketh mention of) which ſhould be deſtroyed when their ſins were full, as the Amorites, Jebuſites, Hittites, &c. it cannot be meant the deſtruction and killing of men, becauſe it is contrary to the nature of God and goodneſſe to be the cauſe of deſtruction, for he is the author and cauſe of all goodneſſe and preſervation; therefore wee ſhould be like God, to pray for them, and doe them all the good we can, and not deſtroy and kill them in their ſins, for we ſhould deale with them by the ſpirit of meekneſſe, and not ſend them to hell headlong, for wee know not how ſoon they may return to God & goodneſſe: wherefore thoſe ſeven are the ſeven deadly ſinnes which have ſet themſelves forth as Nations in us, which when they are at the full in us, the Iſrael of God (Jeſus Chriſt) muſt come and deſtroy them out of us that the whole ſociety of God with Saints and Angells may dwell in us, and that our ſoule may be a land that floweth with milke and hony, and till all thoſe good things come to paſſe in us we are not ſaved.

And whereas it is ſaid of Abrahams beeing commanded to kill his ſonne Iſaac (which is contrary to the law of nature and to God and goodneſſe to command him to kill his naturall ſon) there is ſome ſecret & ſacred myſtery in it, for in this is ſet forth the whole paſſion of Chriſt; for Iſaac (or Jeſus Chriſt) is the promiſed ſeed which is brought forth in the Ancient of dayes, or in the end of time, and is the ſole and only joy of the man; and God to trye the man would have this ſole joy and life of the man to be brought to the ſacrifice, but the Divinity or holy life cannot dye (but as it may ſeeme to the man) but the ramme or humanity which was caught in the buſh of ſin, he muſt dye and bee ſacrificed for ſin, for all ſacrifices are for ſin, and the ſoule that ſinneth he muſt dye: wherefore we ſhould not looke on the Scripture as a hiſtory, but as a holy and ſecret myſtery: for in Gal. 4.24. it is ſaid, that by Hagar and Sarah is ſignified the two Teſtaments, and that their children are two ſeeds, the one fleſhly, and the other ſpirituall; and Jacob and Eſau that wreſtled in the womb are ſaid to be two Nations, the one ſpirituall, the other carnall: and the Scripture teſtifieth them to bee two worlds, which is meant the firſt and ſecond birth in man, and not as moſt imagine, that God ordained the one to damnation, and the other to ſalvation; and the Scripture witneſſeth plainly that

thoſe are allegories, and to be underſtood as myſteries, or elſe we ſhall altogether diſorder and confound the Scripture, and this is the reaſon of ſo many Religions one fighting againſt the other : for the Scripture in the letter ſeemeth to contradict it ſelfe, ſo that if we have not the Spirit of God (which is above the Scripture) wee cannot underſtand one word or tittle thereof aright, and none can have that Spirit, but he that hath ceaſed from ſin.

As for the drowning of the world and building of Noahs Arke ſo many cubits high and broad, as the Scripture ſpeaketh, it could not containe all the creatures in the world by couples and ſevens, and all their meats ſo long time, alſo it might be thought that God did inſpire & move all the creatures to come to Noahs Ark to be ſaved, the which I deſire you to conſider of, and the many abſurdities that would fall upon it to be underſtood according to the letter, which cannot be agreeable to reaſon, but that there muſt be ſome higher myſtery in it; for the Scripture ſaith, that there was but eight perſons in the Ark, and that all the world was drowned ſave theſe eight; and preſently after he ſpeaketh of Kings and Kingdomes : I pray tell mee, from whence theſe Kings and Kingdomes came from in ſo ſhort a time? for we read how many of the children of Iſraell went into Egypt, and were there foure hundred yeares; marke their increaſe during that ſpace, and compare the times, and you ſhall ſee how many eight perſons could bring forth in ſo ſhort a time; for the Egyptian Kingdome, and all the reſt of the Kingdomes muſt come from thoſe eight perſons, which they can never prove to have increaſed ſo many in ſo ſhort a time; for we read but of ſixty ſix perſons that came of Shem, betwixt his comming forth of the Arke, and their entring into Egypt, and their abode in Egypt was foure hundred and thirty yeares, the which in all that time did but increaſe to ſix hundred thouſand till the time they came out of Egypt again to go into the land of Canaan: therefore if you will compare thoſe things and exactly calculate the times, you will finde ſtrange contradictions in them; wherefore you muſt not look to the hiſtory of the Scripture but to the myſtery, for the deluge of Gods wrath muſt needs fall upon ſome other world then this externall, even the world of ſinne and iniquity, and drowns all their delightfull pleaſures and marriages by his heavy judgement and law of ſinne that he executeth upon them many and divers wayes : but the holy and divine manhood with all the beaſts (which are the paſſions and phantaſies of his minde) and the eight perſons (which are the five ſenſes, with the will, reaſon and underſtanding, which is to rule and governe all theſe beaſts) are ſhut up in the Arke, Cheſt or Divinity of God while this deluge runs over the wicked world, and are preſerved in the ſame to bee brought forth as a new and heavenly Jeruſalem

ruſalem to a better and more divine world, which is the humanity to live in the Godhead, or the holy divine life. Likewiſe the hiſtory of Joſeph & his brethren, is to be underſtood ſpiritually, for the twelve ſonnes of Jacob, with their father and mother, is the whole divinity and humanity joyned together, and Joſeph ſignifies the higheſt perfection or divinity, which was ſold into the hands of the wicked by his brethren which is the humanity with his affections, and the wickedneſſe ſold him unto the luſt of the fleſh, which was Potiphars wife, ſo that the luſts of the fleſh deſired to injoy the perfection to her luſt, will and deſires, as the Devill did to Chriſt, which this doth prefigurate, and he left this garment of fleſh (which hee ſeemed to be cloathed with) into her hands for a witneſſe againſt him that hee was with her; ſo the wicked luſts of the fleſh put this perfection or Joſeph in priſon, becauſe he would not conſent to her, and he lyeth in this dungeon or hell under the fleſhly luſts of ſinne, till our Pharaoh (King of ignorance and ſervitude) begin to dream of all the miſeries and famines that is to come upon us; then Joſeph or our perfection is ſent for in haſte, to provide food for us in this our famiſhed land of ſervitude and ignorance, where wee muſt ſell our ſelves under this perfection (who is as King and Lord in this land for a time) otherwiſe we cannot be ſaved nor preſerved; and after a ſmall time this Joſeph dyeth in the land of ſervitude and ignorance, after whoſe death comes a cruell Pharaoh to reigne over thee, who doth impoſe ſuch cruell and hard burdens and taskes on thee, which makes thee long and cry out for a Saviour; then comes the moſt powerfull God with his mighty ſignes and wonders to helpe thee, plaguing thy wicked king of wickedneſſe in thee; and when all thoſe wonders and plagues are fulfilled upon thy king of ſervitude, thou muſt enter into a wilderneſſed land where is no comfort, carrying the dead bones of Joſeph (or thy dead perfection) and in thy going thou muſt eat the paſcall lambe, or the ſupper of our Lord; which wilderneſſed land, is the whole paſſion and death of our Lord Jeſus, whereby thou muſt forſake the onions, garlike, fleſh pots, and all the pleaſant meats which thou eateſt of in the land of Egypt: and in walking through this wilderneſſe (or this death and paſſion of our Lord Jeſus) we are brought to the heavenly Jeruſalem, or City of God, wherein we ſhall reſt in all peace and ſweet content: I doe not deny the hiſtory or litterall ſenſe of the Scripture, but there is nothing therein profitable for me, ſave only the myſtery and ſpirituall ſenſe. As for the ſacrifice in the old law, where mention is made of killing of bulls, rams, goats and lambs, ſure it cannot bee that the killing of theſe creatures could ever make ſatisfaction for ſinne; nor could the ſpeech of a Prieſt ſpeaking over the head of a goat, carry away ſinne into the

wilderneſſe, as it is ſaid of the ſcape goat; but theſe are holy myſteries, and muſt be underſtood otherwiſe, and the chuſing of the Prieſts as that they ſhould have no impediment, as a lame leg, or one arme, or but one eye, and that their attire ſhould bee moſt glorious, with the breaſtplate of Urim and Thummim, and the Crown with writing upon it, and the pure white linnen, which to underſtand according to the hiſtory ſeemeth ſtrange for the Prieſts to weare ſuch babling things, but that all thoſe are myſteries.

As for the ſacrifices which ſhould be without blemiſh (as the lambs and innocent doves, with the ſweet odours and perfumes) is this to offer up a moſt holy and upright life without ſpot or blemiſh of ſinne, which is his holy Son Ieſus in us, a ſacrifice moſt pleaſing in his ſight, for he careth not for the ſacrifice of bulls and rams, but this moſt holy body hath he choſen: O therefore, let us offer up this moſt holy body and pure life for an acceptable ſacrifice moſt pleaſing in his ſight; this holy life is the odours and ſweet perfumes, which ſweet ſavor deligh eth his noſtrills, and raviſheth his minde with moſt ſweet contents; and the divine humanity is the Prieſt that muſt offer up this moſt pure ſacrifice, for he muſt be a perfect man without the blemiſh of ſinne, and muſt wear the breaſtplate of judgement with Urim and Thummim, which is light and perfection, with the crowne of glory which is holineſſe to God, and be cloathed in white linnen which is a moſt pure and innocent life: and now you ſee that Prieſt, people, and ſacrifice muſt be pure and unſpotted without ſinne having all perfection.

As for the holy Arke which was builded by the free will offering of the people, and Moſes going up into the mountaine to the Lord for a paterne to ſhew the people that it might be builded with all their pretious ſtones, and fine ſilks for curtaines, and the drinking pots of gold, with the candleſticks, ſnuffers, and ſnuffing diſhes, and the mercy ſeat, with the Cherubins that holdeth up the mercy ſeat, and the holy and moſt holy place, with the curtaine betwixt the holy and moſt holy; and the Altar and hookes, the table and ſhewbread, with Arons rod that budded, and the pot of manna, which to underſtand as a hiſtory, that ſuch a glorious building was made to look upon is nothing to me; for to looke or judge of it ſo is to looke according to the outward appearance which is not righteous judgement, for in this is to be ſeene the whole myſtery of the Godhead and the humanity; for in the holy place is the whole worke of the law, with the death and ſacrifices for ſinne for a reconciliation, which death and ſacrifices is the Godhead and manhood which lyeth upon the holy Alter, fire, wrath, croſſe or patience till the man of ſinne be deſtroyed and rooted out of us: And the golden candleſticks, with the lights in the holy place, is the law or grace that ſhineth from the morning till

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the evening, or till ſinne is extinguiſhed and done away in us, and is the lights of Gods grace which is true repentance for ſinne, with a broken and contrite heart and ſorrowfull ſpirit, which ſhineth till all things are finiſhed, and then giveth up the ghoſt unto the Father from whence he came, and then the vaile or curtaine which ſtandeth in the moſt holy place is rent in twaine from the top to the bottome, which vaile is the fleſh and death of Chriſt, and is the new and living way, through which all muſt enter or elſe they cannot be ſaved, nor enter into the moſt holy or *Sanctum Sanctorum*, where the mercy ſeat is held up by the Angells and Cherubins.

Now when the Prieſthood which is the holy humanity, hath fulfilled the whole worke of the Law (the ſacrifice for ſinne in the holy place) then they put on all their holy garments and attires, and ſo enter into the moſt holy place with their bells or hymns that ſoundeth forth the praiſe of God internally to God, and externally all good to men, for in this holy attire muſt he enter in the moſt holy place with odours and ſweet perfumes of a holy life, and the ſmoke of theſe odours, and perfumes of a holy life, aſcendeth to the mercies ſeat, and raviſheth the moſt holy Godhead, and then he imbraceth him in his armes ſaying, Thou art my beloved Sonne in whom I am well pleaſed; and this is he that maketh us Kings and Prieſts to God, and giveth us himſelfe to be offered up for a ſacrifice to God his Father for us. O man, how great is the love of God to thee, that hee becommeth thee to ſave thee, and makes thee himſelfe for the great love he hath to thee? for in thy firſt appearance he created himſelfe in thee, and then there appeared unto thee foure worlds; firſt this externall world, whereof thou haſt borrowed a body or garment, and knoweſt not how ſoone it ſhall be called for againe, for the world whirleth about and calleth for her owne againe, and there can be no certainty of any thing here, becauſe here is nothing but change and mortality; for this world of it ſelfe is death, but that the ſpirits that are in it is its life, ſo that this world is not worthy ſo much as to bee thought off, for it periſheth with the uſing as doth a garment, only it is good in this reſpect, becauſe wee could not know light but by darkneſſe, nor life but by death, nor immortallity but by mortallity; and the reaſon we were in obſcurity or in ſilence before wee could come here, is this, that there is one eternall increaſe of the ſeed of man, and they can but appeare in time here; for this externall world is time, and time is a running round, and there is no new thing here but as it is to me; for this materiall world doth neither increaſe nor decreaſe, but is one and the ſame for ever in its turning round, only it ſeemeth to me to increaſe and diminiſh, and ſo it is finite, and becauſe the ſeed of man is an eternall increaſe; and this world being one and the ſame may be called finite in this reſpect, becauſe there is not matter enough for all ſpirits to have bodies or garments of

at one time, and therefore ſome muſt goe before others can come, for the ſpirits to come are infinite, and this world is finite, becauſe of its materiall confine, not increaſing but running round, ſo that which is called the body of one to day, may be called the body of another to morrow; for there is no certainty here, and all ſoules muſt ſtay their time till they can come here, and in their comming and being here is the time to ſee diſtinctions and all worlds, and if thou doe not looke about thee and ſee them here in this world of time (but be neglective of the time) thou hadſt better never have been born or brought forth in time, for this time vaniſheth away to thee and thou ſhalt bee ſeen no more; for when man is in honour and knows it not, he is like the brute beaſt that periſheth being without God in the world: therefore whilſt time doth laſt to us, let us looke about us and redeeme our miſpent time, and ſeek the everlaſting good or reall true world that is beyond all time or change; and this is the divine world which God hath placed in thy heart, as is ſaid in Eccleſiaſtes the 3. and the world whereof Moſes ſpeaketh Gen. 1. and is the Angelicall world or paradiſe out of which the man had an Angelicall body which is but a part of Gods houſe, for God ſhewed himſelfe but in part, and this part he loſt, and in that part he was that great Lucifer or Angell that was the Sunne of the morning, or ſtarre that fell, and in falling fought againſt his Maker, or him that gave him that Angelicall body or world, in which the moſt holy world ſtood as a tree of life unſeen or untouched by the man, for he had more minde of the diabolicall world, for all worlds being opened to the man he deſires the evill and worſt of worlds deſiring to be free before his time, becauſe he could not abide the ſervanthood to till and dreſſe the garden of the Lord (which ſervanthood is the angelicall body or world, which is the ſervant of the Lord) but deſired to be as great as God himſelfe before his time, and ſo his pride threw him downe into the moſt loweſt world which is the diabolicall; ſo that his body is now the body of ſinne, death, and all wickedneſſe: and beſides, he hath pulled downe the divine and moſt holy world upon him as a judge with wrath and violent fire, and ſo hee ſtandeth ſtill over him till the man deſire to come forth againe out of the diabolicall world and returne with humility, true repentance and reall ſorrow for his ſin, and then the divine and moſt holy world doth worke this true reall death in mans heart, and deſcendeth into the hell of his heart (that is into the loweſt parts of his earth where the wrath of God is) and there pacifieth this wrathfull Judge or God with his humility and true ſorrow for ſinne, by which ſorrow and humility he crucifies and deſtroyes all ſinne out of the man, and then he raiſeth him out of the loweſt world into the divineſt and moſt holy world; and this world is the ſecond creation that God maketh in man and is himſelfe which he creates

teth in him, for in his comming he first humbleth and then exalteth the man; for the divine and most holy world in his comming downe into hell (or the most lowest world to the man to save him) doth appeare in humility and lowlinesse of spirit, very meeke and gentle, enduring patiently all that the law would have him suffer, and so teacheth and incorporateth this humility and lowlinesse of spirit into the man that hath learned God, so that they twain are made one spirit; and this is the new creation of which David speaketh, saying, Create in me a cleane heart, O God, and renue a right spirit in mee: this is that poore, humble, meek soule that lyeth in the dust and seeth no help which shall be lifted up from thence to dignity, and shall sit with Princes, which is to sit with the most highest God; and he is the barren that shall beare, and bring forth the holy Godhead or divine life out of him.

Now, O man, mayest thou see how great the love of God is to thee; therefore forsake all worlds for his sake, because he loveth thee so deerly, and look upon all things through his spirituall and holy eyes, and then shalt thou see things cleerly and as they are, and not esteem of any thing above it selfe, nor above its owne deserving. Wherefore wee must looke into the Scripture with those holy eyes, or else we shall see nothing aright, or as it is.

Now to looke upon all the histories of the Prophets, Judges and Kings without those divine and holy eyes, where through we see the holy mystery of the same, it will appeare very strange to us, and contrary to nature and reason; as for example, that of Balaams Asse speaking to him, and Nebuchadnezzar being turned to a Beast to eat grasse with the Oxen till the dew of heaven had wet him seven times; and the fiery furnace spoken of in Daniell, in which the three children were cast, wherein they had no hurt, nor so much as their cloaths burned; and the great Image of brasse, iron and clay, which is also spoken of in Daniell, with many other mysteries which setteth forth the creation, fall and restauration of man by the whole worke of the law, together with his new creation: so that the whole history of the Scripture (rightly understood) tendeth to those things, but are illustrated and set forth many and divers wayes; therefore this worke of man is wonderfull, and would make an eternall discourse in the minde of man to expresse himselfe. And the history of David that he did kill a Lion and a Beare, and did kill Goliah, is the whole worke of the law to destroy the Devill and sin out of the man; also he complaineth sometimes that he is in the lowest hell, and in a deepe pit, and that he is a worme and no man, and that he is in the deep waters and the raging seas run over him, so that in all this he carries a double death which is to kill and be killed, for the whole worke of the law is to kill and bee killed, therefore the law (or David) cannot build a house for God to dwell in, for

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he ſaith that David or the law is a man of blood, and that he ſhould pull down all buildings of ſin, and deſtroy the enemies of the Lord, and prepare timber and ſtones hewed and cut for the houſe of the Lord, that there might bee no noiſe of the hammer, or of the worke mans tools; for the law of the Lord hews, cuts and prepares us for the houſe of the Lord before we are or can be ſet in, that there ſhould be no noiſe of hammer or worke mans tooles hewing or cutting, which hewing or cutting is the wounds of conſcience making a true ſorrow and mourning for ſinne, and when we are prepared and made living ſtones and a ſpirituall houſe (Chriſt being the head and corner ſtone that upholdeth this houſe and holy building, and this whole houſe is covered within and without with pure gold, that is with a moſt pure, holy and glorious life) then the moſt holy and wiſe Solomon (the wiſdome of the Godhead, the ſonne of David, or the law) enters in this moſt glorious houſe that ſhineth with his moſt bright and glorious rayes, and there he worſhips and adores this great and moſt holy Godhead, and there was and is continuall ſongs of Hallelujah, praiſe and thankſgiving to him that liveth for evermore: and without this houſe is the middle court where the peace offerings that was and is offered up to this moſt holy God, and was and is the fulfilling of the law by obedience in killing the man of ſinne, the which doth pacifie and reconcile us to God againe, that we may enter the Temple with this holy and wiſe Solomon to worſhip and ſing praiſes to the moſt glorious and moſt holy God. O that it were ſo well with all the ſoules of men, and that it were ſo come to paſſe in them, then were they happy, but till then moſt unhappy.

Now to underſtand theſe buildings of the Temple and houſe of the Lord as a hiſtory, with all theſe glorious externall things, how that there were galleries and chambers, and in thoſe roomes pictures of Angels and Cherubins, and that they did uphold the Arke and Alter, and that the ſame ſhould bee covered within and without with pure gold, and that the ſtones muſt be hewed and prepared before they were ſet in that there ſhould be no noiſe of the hammer or workmans toole: what is that to thee, O man, to read the hiſtory of theſe things? for all externall buildings muſt periſh with the uſing, and thou never the better for it; but looke thou into the myſtery thereof becauſe it concernes thy ſelfe, for this building is thee and God joyned together, and is the rocke Chriſt Jeſus, that living ſtone diſallowed of men, but choſen of God, and yee as living ſtones are joyned to him and made a ſpirituall houſe, and an holy Prieſthood to offer up ſpirituall ſacrifices to God by this holy Jeſus Chriſt our Lord and only Saviour, that hath called us from death to life, and hath made us ſit with him in his holy place, that is in the moſt holy Father: there-

therefore O man, ſeeke after this holy building, and let it be built in thee, for all the hyſtories of the Scripture is concerning thy ſelfe, thy falling, riſing, or ſomething that concerns thee or the holy Godhead; therefore thou oughteſt to looke into the ſcripture with a vigilant eye, and with due reſpect, for it is the true looking-glaſſe which ſhowes thee in what condition thou art, and therefore read it not as thou doſt other hyſtories, but read it and take it to heart, and eſteeme it as it is the moſt holy and ſacred myſteries concerning the great and moſt powerfull Godhead and thy ſelfe, O man.

And as for the Hyſtory of Ieſus Chriſt that he was borne in an Inn, and in a ſtable, betwixt an Oxe and an Aſſe, and laid in a Crach, and that the Inn was full and no roome in it but the ſtable, is a great myſtery, for this Inn is thy ſelfe O man, and the chambers of thy heart is full of thy ſinnes, the great Kings of thy earthly being, which is pride, vaine glory, hypocriſie, luſt, vanitie wrath and ſelfe will: ſo that the chambers and roomes of thy heart are full of ſuch gueſts as theſe, and there was nor is no roome for the moſt holy life but in the worſt place of thy houſe, and thy *Herod* (or bloody mind) will not let him ly there, but ſeeketh to deſtroy and kill him, and ſo hee is carried away and hid in thee till thoſe be dead that ſeeke his life: Now when Chriſt (the holy divine nature) comes into our earthly Man of ſinne, hee hath not a place to lay or reſt his head on, but is ſought for by our ſinnes to bee deſtroyed, for he ſayeth, *the foxes* (that are our worldly Paſſions) *have holes, and the birds* (that are our vain Phantaſies) *have neſts, but hee hath not whereon to lay his head*; Doeſt thou not ſee (O vain man) that the moſt holy and divine world or divine life is neglected of thee? and kept under thy earthly being, and he is in the moſt loweſt parts of thy earth, and under thy ſinfull manhood, hee is that moſt glorious and holy light that commeth into thy wicked world of ſinne, but thou art aſhamed of him, becauſe hee diſcovers thy deeds of darkeneſſe, ſo thou putſt out this light and quencheſt this ſpirit, for thou loveſt the deeds of darkneſſe more then the works of light, therefore this light or holy life is carryed away by *Ioſeph* and *Marie* (the perfection and fountaine of Love) to the holy light, from whence he came, till all thy ſinne and iniquity which ſought his life is dead in thee, for the holy life cannot live in thee, till ſinne be dead and rooted out of thee.

Now to looke upon Chriſt comming into this externall world, in ſuch a mean manner, his birth ſo low, and his condition ſo poore and diſpiſed, and ſought out by the Kings of the earth to bee deſtroyed, was becauſe they thought ſcorne that one of ſo poore and mean birth ſhould bee King of all the earth; And thou mayeſt ſee the myſtery of his comming into this world in ſo poore and diſpiſed manner, which is to ſhew thee how hee is in thy

ſelfe and in thy internall world diſpiſed and ſought for to bee deſtroyed by thy ſinnes the great Kings of thy earthly being: therefore (O man) if thou readſt the hiſtory of the birth of Chriſt, and not look into the myſtery how much it concerns thee, thou art never the better for his comming; for his externall comming to the ſight of the world ſhall vaniſh away like a tale that is told, or a dreame that is ſeene no more: therefore O man looke into the Scripture (and into the holy writ) with a diligent and circumſpect eye, and into thy ſelfe where is written the holy word to thy condemnation or to thy ſalvation: compare thy ſelfe and the ſcripture together, and thou ſhalt ſee thy ſelfe there, for it is the true reall lookeing glaſſe wherein thou mayeſt behold thy ſelfe; and thy owne ſoule or ſpirit is a witneſſe to thee, that it relates to thee thy ſelfe, and it ſpeaks the reall truth to thee in condemning or juſtifying thee, wherefore O man take it to heart, for thou needſt not no other witneſſe of the truth thereof but thy ſelfe.

As for Chriſts being led aſide by the ſpirit into the Wilderneſſe to bee tempted of the Devill, and that he faſted fourty dayes and fourty nights, and that he was ſet upon a Pinacle of the Temple, ſhewing him from thence all the Kingdoms of the earth in the twinckling of an eye, and that hee told him all the Kingdoms of the earth were his, for they were given him, and if hee would fall down and worſhip him they ſhould bee his; certainly this cannot be meant of the externall, for no mortall creature (taking on this elementary body of clay) can ſubſiſt without foode ſo long, nor could it be that all the Kingdomes of the world were the Devills, for who did give them to him? nor can there bee any reaſon given, why or how hee could poſſible ſee all the Kingdomes of this world with his externall eyes at one time: for this world being imagined round, high and low, it is impoſſible that any externall eye ſhould ſee it at once: therefore O man looke to the myſtery thereof, for when this holy Jeſus is borne into us, this wicked ſpirit commeth to him, and ſeeing him cloathed with our fraile and weake nature thinking to overcome him, ſhewing him our barren and wilderneſſed nature wherein is no good thing for foode for him, ſo that hee muſt bee ſtarved if hee lived in it, therefore hee would have him obedient unto him and hee ſhould have all his honour kingdome and riches, but he did forſake them all as abhominable, and brought his owne foode or kingdome with him, for he liveth by the power and life of the Godhead from whence he came, and by this mighty power he makes this ſtony and barren ground of mans nature food for him to live of and with, for hee participates and liveth of both natures; the Godhead and the manhoode, and this Godhead and manhood being joyned together by a conjunction (or reciprocall union) have betwixt them both brought forth Jeſus Chriſt the

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Sonne of God and Sonne of man, who is both God and man, and being in the wombe of the humanity, is nouriſhed and fed by the ſame as of his mother, for all children live of the mothers life and nature, and are fed by it: ſo this Ieſus Chriſt comes into our barren ground, and by his mighty power maketh it fertill and fruitfull, bringing forth himſelfe in us, to live of us, and we by him, for our barren ground is plowed up by the law of God, and all the thornes and thiſtles which is our ſinnes, is plucked up and throwne away, that this holy ſeed may be ſowed in our hearts in place of our ſinnes, and this ſeed is a tender plant: wherefore, O man, look diligently to it, and weed up all things that is like to deſtroy the ſame in thee.

And as for the Devill carrying Chriſt up into the holy City, and ſetting him upon a pinacle of the Temple, and ſhewing him all the Kingdomes of the Earth in the twinkling of an eye, and ſaying, that thoſe Kingdoms were given to him; this holy City is thy ſelfe, O man, and thou haſt given it to the Devill, and he hath begot many wicked generations and kingdomes in thee which is his; and Chriſt taking thy ſinfull nature upon him to deſtroy it, the Devill being in that nature of ſin thinks to exalt Jeſus, ſhewing him what kingdomes he had got in that nature, for which he would have him worſhip him, and hee would give him them all; but he reproves him and cares not for his wicked kingdomes, but crucifies him and them, and caſts him out of this nature, and makes this his humanity to worſhip God, and ſaith, Get thee from me Sathan, for I will worſhip my Lord and God; ſo Chriſt the divine power of God, taking upon him the ſinfull nature, had upon him the power of the Devill who thought to deſtroy him in it, ſo the Devill and hee being in one nature ſtrove for victory who ſhould have this nature for his poſſeſſion and dwelling place, the divinity hath the victory when the humanity conſenteth thereto, and then there is two againſt one, but if thou conſenteſt to the devill there is no fighting for thee, nor art thou worthy the fighting for; therefore if thou haſt a minde to ſtay with the Devill ſtill thou mayeſt, for hee will not pull thee out of his clawes againſt thy will: wherefore looke to it, O man, for there ſtands before thee life and death, chuſe life and live for ever; but if thou loveſt death, thou haſt death for ever.

As concerning the Aſſe that Chriſt tooke away, and his curſing the fig-tree, it ſeemeth ſtrange in the letter, becauſe it contradicteth the truth, for the truth ſaith, that we ſhould uſe no violence, nor take any mans goods from him, and that we ſhould not curſe but bleſſe; but we ſee here that Chriſt hath taken away the Aſſe that was bound, and curſed the fig-tree againſt reaſon, for the time of figs was not yet come; therefore certainly there is another myſtery in it, for it cannot bee true according to the hiſtory that Chriſt ſhould doe ſuch

unjuſt things, for no falſhood nor guile was found in his hands: therefore this Aſſe is that ſimple innocencie that is tyed in thee with the cords of iniquity and cannot ſtir; for the humanity never did ride thereon, till Chriſt came in our humanity to make it free, and then he rideth into Jeruſalem the City of God meekly ſitting upon this Aſſe, which Aſſe is now the ſimple innocencie of God, on which (before Chriſt came into thy humanity) Balams did ride upon and did kicke and ſpurne this innocencie without a cauſe; therefore bee thou, O man, this ſimple innocent Aſſe, that the King of Sion may ride meekly upon thee to Jeruſalem the holy City of God.

And for the fig-tree that had no time to bring forth its fruits but was curſed, is the humanity that Chriſt did take upon him, induring therein the curſe of the law for the ſins cauſe, nor could it bring forth fruit till Chriſt came in it, and made it indure the curſe of the law, which made it ſeem to dye and vaniſh away: for this fig-tree or humanity, could not bring forth fruit till Chriſt came againe in ſpirit to vivifie and renue the ſame, for he is the life of the true fig-tree that bringeth forth fruit in due ſeaſon: ſo this firſt fig-tree that was accurſed ſhews unto us the firſt creation in man, how that it could not bring forth fruit being lyable to the curſe for ſins cauſe; and this tree is the humanity of Chriſt according to the fleſh, that indureth the judgement and curſe of God with us for ſins cauſe, without cauſe in himſelfe, ſave only his love to us.

And as for that certaine man that fell amongſt the theeves and was hurt, many paſſing by and would not helpe him till the Samaritane came: O man, this certaine man is thy ſelfe that is gone out of Ieruſalem (the City of God) to travell, and hath met with the Devill and all his company, which is pride, vaine-glory, hypocriſie, luſt, intemperance, wrath, envy, malice, bitterneſſe of ſpirit, covetouſneſſe, evill cenſuring, murtherous mindes, and all the wickedneſſe that is: and theſe are the theeves that hath robbed thee of all goodneſſe, wounding thy ſoule, and leaving thee for dead: ſo the Prieſt and Levit that paſſeth by thee is the law, wrath, and curſe of God that is upon thee, and leaves thee alone to thy ſelfe for thy condemnation, becauſe thou haſt left the city and houſe of God to travell thou knoweſt not whither to loſe and damne thy ſelfe with the Devill and all his Angells and wicked ſpirits, that hath killed and ſpoyled thy ſoule, for thy wounds of ſinne ſtinke and are putrified within thee (as David ſaith, my wounds are feſtred and ſtinke within me) and ſo we lye as dead in treſpaſſes and ſinnes till the good Samaritane (which is Ieſus Chriſt) come and have mercy on us, and take us up and ſet us upon his Aſſe which is his moſt innocent and harmleſſe life, whereon he carries thee as halfe dead, and after poureth in the oyle of his gracious goodneſſe into thy wounds to heale them, ſo that hee becommeth a plaiſter for thy ſores to

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heale thee, and indures all thy ſtinking filthineſſe upon him, for hee hath thy ſores in his ſalve which is himſelfe, and is that moſt innocent and harmleſſe life, and hee it is that beares the iniquities of us all, for all our ſinnes and tranſgreſſions is upon him; ſo this holy Chriſt is in hell in us till wee are cured of ſinne, for he is a ſalve for our ſtinking ſores that is a hell to him, and he indures thee, and the wrath of God upon thee, which is upon him in thee, till thou art perfectly cured and made whole from all blemiſh or ſpot: O how great is the love of God to thee, O man! why doth not thy heart melt in love to him againe, ſeeing he is ſo good to thee? Where, O man, canſt thou finde ſuch a love and lover, or ſuch goodneſſe as he is to thee without any cauſe of thine, but for his owne goodneſſe ſake whereby he takes pity on thee to helpe and ſave thee? therefore, O man, (whoſoever thou art that is dead in treſpaſſes and ſinnes) if thou doſt not feele this power of God Jeſus Chriſt in thee, who is a ſalve for all ſores (which doth draw, ſcoure and waſh them within thee, and put thee to paine with the power of his working ſalves) thou ſhalt never bee well, thinke or believe what thou wilt of Chriſt without thee, and of his great works, he nor they ſhall profit thee nothing unleſſe thou haſt the power of Chriſt working within thee, and that thou ſenſibly feele the power of his working againſt ſinne in thee, which is a grievous hell and torment to thee for the preſent to indure; but thou hadſt better indure this hell againſt thy ſin for a moment, then be for ever loſt and damned, and be deprived of God and goodneſſe for ever, having the ſting of conſcience ſtinging thee for what thou haſt done, and for what thou haſt loſt and deprived thy ſelfe off for ever: therefore, O man, looke to it in time whilſt time doth laſt, for this world is time, the which if thou miſpendeſt there is no time more; and in this time is all worlds opened to thee, and if thou doſt not chuſe the divine and moſt holy world in this time, it is for ever ſhut up againſt thee, and ſo thou art deprived of God and goodneſſe, and art in a moſt miſerable condition: wherefore, O man, doe not dally with thy ſelfe, nor deferre the time, putting it off from one time to another; for time is a thiefe and ſteales away from thee, therefore do not cheat or coſen thy ſelfe with falſe beliefes and faiths of Ieſus Chriſt, and what he hath done for thee, the which he never hath done till thou feele the power of his working in thee with many agonies and bloody ſweats; and till thou feele the nailes of his crucifying pricke thee to the very heart, and that thou feeleſt the ſtings of death for ſinne in thee; therefore O man, put no confidence in Chriſt till thou findeſt the mighty power and worke of Chriſt in thee; for if thou doeſt thou deceiveſt thy ſelfe, and thy beliefe is in vaine, and a dead faith without this worke of Chriſt working mightily in thee, pulling downe all thy ſtrong holds of ſinne and vaine imaginations, and offe-

ting thee up a pure ſoule to his Father, that God may be all in all in thee: O that it were ſo come to paſſe in all ſoules, then were they happy, but till then moſt unhappy.

And for that man that was ſaid to be borne blinde, is Chriſt after the fleſh in thee, which became thy ſelfe, who is conceived and borne in iniquity in thee to ſave thee; for thy father (which is the devill) is become his father and thy mother (which is luſt) is become his mother; and Ieſus Chriſt is that true Phyſitian that maketh himſelfe ſee in thee, and Chriſt ſaying to his Diſciples that the father of this blind man ſinned not, nor the ſon, is meant that as he is Chriſt (the holy unction or anointing) he commeth of God, and is the Sonne of God, and God is his Father, and they be no ſinners, neither he nor his Son; but Chriſt to ſhew the glory of God became this blinde man in us, and opened his owne eyes in us, which ſee not in man any good thing till ſinne is deſtroyed out of the man: ſo theſe holy eyes are blinde in us, till that time that Chriſt have deſtroyed ſinne out of us, and then he openeth his owne eyes in us, which eyes then are ours which ſinne had blinded in us before, ſo that we could not ſee with thoſe righteous eyes, but made thoſe eyes to us to bee the eyes of the wicked nature, through which we looked not as they were in deed and in truth (righteous and holy eyes) but as they ſeemed to us, in ſo much that we have taken the holy God to be that to us which he is not in himſelfe, for our ſinnes hath made us thinke him our enemy when as hee is our deareſt friend, that till our ſinnes are deſtroyed he doth and will ſeeme ſo to us that which he is not in himſelfe, for his eyes ſhall be blinde to us, and his ears deaf to us, ſo that he will neither ſee nor heare when we call and cry to him, becauſe there is a darke cloud of ſinne that ſeparateth him and us, and hee will not heare us till this cloud is taken out of the way, and that we become a true father and mother to him, for we have been wicked parents to him heretofore, and have brought him into all wickedneſſe and miſery, and have killed him in ſuffering for us as if he had done all wickedneſſe, when as there was no guile found in his mouth, but is that innocent Lambe that was ſlaine in the beginning of thy world of ſin.

Alſo thou art that woman that is bound with Sathan eighteen yeares, and art become double with his bonds untill thou goeſt to Chriſt, that he may looſe thee from the bonds of Sathan, and make thee whole and ſtreight again.

And thou art ſhee that haſt that bloody iſſue of ſinne for twelve yeares: O touch therefore his garment, his fleſh or mortification, and thou ſhalt be made whole; and this garment is the law of ſinne which cleanſeth thee from ſinne.

And thou art he that is poſſeſſed with legions of Devills or ſinnes; O then

let Chriſt by his mighty power caſt him out of thee that thou mayeſt be in thy right minde againe.

And thou art the man poſſeſſed with a deafe and dumbe Devill, ſo that thou canſt not ſpeake to God, nor heare him when he ſpeaketh to thee: O faſt thou the true reall faſt, which is from all thy ſinnes) and pray to God continually, (with a broken and contrite heart and true ſorrowfull ſpirit) then mayeſt thou ſpeake to God and heare him when he ſpeaks to thee.

And thou art or mayeſt be in that ſhip on that ſtormy ſea, that is ready to ſinck thy ſhip with its boiſterous waves, for God and the Devill are at ſtrife for thee, when thou haſt once joyned thy ſelfe to God, and then beginneth the bloody warrs betwixt theſe two Kingdomes in thee, for when thy wicked world of ſinne begins to be at an end, then is there Kingdom againſt Kingdome, and nation againſt nation in thee, and ſtormy rageing ſeas roaring, ſo that the heart of thy man of ſin begins to faile in thee, and Chriſt is aſleepe in the cabbin (that is in thy inmoſt ſelfe, and is that ſtill and ſoft voice) therefore ſeeke for him and awake him that he may ſave thee, and calme theſe raging ſtormy ſeas within thee, with his moſt ſtill and ſoft voyce: and theſe are the ſeas that St. Paul did ſaile through, God, and the Devill the truth, and the ly, which claſheth one againſt the other, and the humanitie is the ſhip that ſaileth betwixt thoſe two ſeas and taſts of both and is broken, and the forepart of that ſhip that ſtuck faſt, (and was not hurt nor moved by the claſhing waves of thoſe ſeas) is the moſt holy and divine Godhead Jeſus Chriſt within thee, which can indure, and is able to make thee indure (if thou ſtay in the ſhip with him) all the ſtormy ſeas of hell, death, and Devill. But the hinder part of the ſhip (which is the humanity,) muſt be broken becauſe of our ſinnes and tranſgreſſions, and muſt taſte of death for ſinnes cauſe, but nothing in the ſhip that ſtayes in it to indure this ſtorme of death ſhall periſh, and all the priſoners that are bound in it ſhall be ſaved and ſwimme to ſhoare on the broken peeces of this ſhip: the true ſence and conſummation of all is, that when we have indured the battle till ſin be deſtroyed, then do we enter into the moſt holy life and are ſaved.

Now to read the hiſtory of Chriſts laſt ſupper how that the ſame was kept in an upper Chamber, and that he did eat bread, and drinke wine, and give of the ſame unto his diſciples: and that he was whipt, ſcourged, and crowned with thornes, and how Judas ſold him, and how that he was afraid to die, inſomuch that hee did ſweate drops of blood, and that hee was nailed upon a Croſſe, and was p rced through with a Speare, ſo that there came forth of his ſide blood and water, and that at his death the ſunne was darkened and the moone was put out, and that hee had gall and vinegar

negar to drinke, and that he was crucified betweene two theeves. This is the moſt holy and ſacred myſtery which is acted in the ſoule of every man that is ſaved; and this upper chamber is thy inmoſt ſelfe, and this bread and wine, is the bitter cup of Gods wrath and indignation whereof thy ſoul muſt drinke for the ſinnes cauſe, and thou art not able of thy ſelfe to beare or drink this cup without ſome mighty power come to aſſiſt thee to doe it: now thy Judas or man of ſinne that is raiſed up to deſtruction, hath ſold the moſt innocent life into the hands of the wicked to ſuffer for thy ſinnes; for the moſt innocent life commeth to thee in fearfulneſſe and trembling, and thou being in him (in this feare and trembling) prepareſt thy ſelfe to ſuffer with him; and thy Judas, Devill or wicked nature commeth to thee as if he were thy friend; and now ſeeing that thou wilt leave him hee fawneth on thee as if hee loved thee and were thy friend, ſaluting thee as if it were with a kiſſe of love; but he ſelleth thee to the blinde Jewes to be killed and crucified of them, which Jewes are thy blinde ſelfe will that now crucifies thy ſelfe and Saviour within thee, and thy ſelfe will carries thy ſelfe and Saviour into condemnation (with thy condemning conſcience) into the judgement hall of condemnation, where all thy ſinnes riſeth up againſt thee taunting, mocking and ſcourging thee, and crowning thee with the thornes of thy ſinfull life, which pricketh and woundeth thee and thy Saviour with griefe for what thou haſt done; ſo that thou and he art in a bitter agony and ſweat of death, inſomuch that thou deſireſt and wouldſt faine have this bitter cup to paſſe from thee; but thou muſt indure it if thou wilt be ſaved, for Gods will muſt be done and not thine, for it is he that raiſeth up all thy ſinnes againſt thee to condemne thee, crowning, whipping and ſcourging thee with what thou haſt done, ſo that thou muſt now taſte of the death of thy ſinnes or otherwiſe thou ſhalt never taſte of the life of God, for the life of thy ſinnes is the death of God in thee, and the life of God is the death to ſinne; and thou and thy ſinnes muſt be nailed to this croſſe, which croſſe is the patience and long ſuffering of Jeſus Chriſt in thee, unto which thou and thy ſinnes art nailed till thou art dead to thy ſinnes, and thy ſinnes to thee, for thy ſinnes hath nailed thee and thy Saviour together, and hath pricked him and thee to the very heart, ſo that he and thou doſt dye of thoſe wounds, and he and thou cryeſt out, My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me? and in the time of thy ſufferings (or Ieſus that makes thee indure this curſe or ſhamefull reproach of thy ſinnes according to thy due deſert) the Son of glory, the life and brightneſſe of the Godhead is darkened or put out, ſo that there is all darkneſſe, death and hell over the internall divine, and moſt holy world, till thy ſinnes and thou art dead one unto another; ſo thou ſeeſt that the divine and moſt holy world is in hell under thy earthly be-

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ing till thy ſinnes be deſtroyed; and being in hell under thy body of ſinne and death, he raiſeth up all thy ſins againſt thee to condemne and ſhame thee, and ſhews thee what a partition wall is betwixt thee and him, which is the law of ſinne and death that condemneth thee, alwaies riſing againſt thee till ſinne be deſtroyed: ſo the love of God to thee offers thee his power, which is Ieſus Chriſt that enters into thee to deſtroy the body of ſinne in thee, which body of ſinne is the workes of the Devill that hath deſtroyed the body or works of God in thee. It is not the divine and holy God that is againſt thee, but it is thy ſinnes that ſtandeth in judgement againſt thee to condemne and arraigne thee, ſo that thou muſt goe under their judgement, condemnation and execution for what thou haſt done againſt God and goodneſſe; for he it is not that is angry with thee, nor condemneth thee for he is that righteous and holy one that can indure all, and is one and the ſame for ever; nor can he be any other, for he cannot be moved to wrath or fury, for then were he changeable; but he is the unchangeable, and one and the ſame for ever; but the deeds that thou haſt done (againſt that holy One that is ſo good to thee) flyeth in thy face crying vengeance againſt thee, and telling thee that thou muſt dye for what thou haſt killed and caſt away from thee, ſo till the law of ſinne hath done his office and killed thee (for killing) and laid thee under the earth in hell (where thou haſt laid the holy One) thou ſhalt never be at reſt; for thou haſt killed, but art loath to be killed; but thou muſt caſt off this death or elſe, otherwiſe thou ſhalt be ignorant of juſtice, for juſtice is to reward every one according to his workes, and as he hath done to another, whether good or evill; ſo the moſt holy One by his mighty power inlightens thee, and ſhews thee all thy ſinnes how they flye in thy face againſt thee, and ſhews the juſtice of the law of ſinne, and that thou muſt dye for thy evill deeds, the which worketh feare and trembling in thy heart, and then doeſt thou cry and morne for helpe and can finde none, till the goodneſſe of God commeth to thee, taking pity and compaſſion on thee, and helpeth thee to indure the death of ſinne for ſinne in thee; ſo that now thou lyeſt on the patience of God till thou art freed from ſinne, and the Devill lyeth upon the other ſide of the patience or croſſe, and is that theefe that cannot repent, and thou art the other theefe that art repentant for what thou haſt done, and ſo findeſt mercy, and in that day or light of mercy thou ſhalt enter into Paradiſe thy Maſters joy, for now you have ſuffered together, you ſhall alſo riſe and reigne together and enter into the joy together, which joy lyes into thy inmoſt ſelf in the cave of thy earth, even there lyeth the moſt ſtill and ſoft voice, which was not in the great windes that did blow downe the rocks of ſinne, nor in that earthquake for ſinne, nor in that fire that conſumeth ſinne in which God is

loſt to the man, for in that the man caſteth the holy God from him, is the very thing that doth condemne him and riſe againſt him, ſo that he can never be at reſt nor quiet till he hath found God againe; and even thus doth God appeare to the man that which he is not in himſelfe, even a conſuming fire, as he ſaith in Theſſalon. God ſendeth them ſtrong deluſions that they ſhould believe lies becauſe they will not receive the love of the truth; for man thinketh that God is angry with him, and he neither can nor ſhall believe otherwiſe untill ſinne be deſtroyed out of him, for God doth ſeem to appeare in thy ſinnes as an angry judge, condemning thee till thou haſt ſuffered under them and for them, and ſo worketh feare in thy heart, and all theſe angers that he ſeemeth to have againſt thee, and thoſe feares that he worketh in thy heart, is for thy future good, and for the great love he hath to thee recalling thee from thy ſinfull life, and when thou haſt forſaken ſinne, then he doth appeare to thee in his glorious, amiable and bright rayes full of ſweet raviſhing contents, and then thy Judas, Devill or ſinnes hath condemned themſelves in thee and with thee, and hath arraigned themſelves at the barre of Gods juſtice, and then they hang themſelves, in thee and breake their owne necks and bruſt their bowells aſunder, and ſo there is an end of them to thee, and an end of thee to them, and then thou cryeſt to thy Father or God, It is finiſhed, and ſo yeeldeſt up thy ghoſt or ſpirit into him, and the vaile (that is the fleſh of Chriſt that divided betwixt the holy and moſt holy place) is rent in twaine from the top to the bottome, which vaile, death or fleſh, is the long-ſufferance and patience of Chriſt, that laſteth in us till our ſinnes are extinguiſhed and blotted out, and this ſtandeth betwixt the holy place, and the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and all that will be ſaved muſt taſte of this fleſh, death, patience, long-ſufferance, bitter cup, agony, or bloudy ſweat which ſtands before the holy of holies; and when wee have taſted this bitter death or cup, wee enter through this vaile, fleſh or death of Chriſt (which is the new and living way) into the holy of holies, or *Sanctum Sanctorum*, which is the Kingdome of Heaven that is within you, and is peace, righteouſneſſe, and joy in the Holy Ghoſt.

Now when the fleſh of Chriſt hath finiſhed his courſe, then is he taken out of the way, and then cometh hee againe to thee the ſecond time, and is thy holy Ghoſt or Spirit which leadeth thee into all truth, which truth is meekeneſſe, lowlineſſe of Spirit, gentleneſſe, lovingneſſe, rejoycing in mind, raviſhing thoughts, ſweet contemplations, ſinging Hymnes and Halelujahs, praiſe and thankſgiving to the Holy Ghoſt for their victoriouſneſſe, and this is thy raviſhing joy and comfort eternally, ſo that all the externall loſſes in this preſent world doth not trouble thee, for thy mind is not below on theſe periſhable things; for thou art dead to them and liveſt here as if thou livedſt not, and uſeth

uſeth all things here as if thou uſed them not, and if thou had all the honours and riches of this world thou wouldeſt diſpiſe them, and think them but dung and droſſe, for thou haſt farre more excellent honour and riches then this world can affoorde, but if by chance the Godly have the riches of this world, as it is but a chance, ſeeing the Godly and ungodly oftentimes injoy them alike here, he accounteth not the ſame his, but diſtributeth as he ſeeth need or neceſſity, as a faithfull ſteward, but the ungodly thinketh all that hee getteth here is his; and will ſuffer another to ſtarve and periſh by him, and in this thou may perceive a difference betwixt the Godly and ungodly, let them brag of their Chriſtianity as much as they will, their workes ſhow what they bee, but wee ſee what a Chriſtian is, and what a difficult thing it is to be one, and how many difficulties he muſt runne through, before he attain to the perfection to be a Chriſtian.

Now to underſtand and read the hiſtory of the crucifying of Chriſt, of his condemnation, death, and buriall, what is this to thee or me, if we feele not the myſtery of his condemnation, death, and buriall, his reſurrection, aſcention, and comming to judgement in me and with me, for if we doe not ſuffer with him, we ſh all not reigne with him? therefore let us dye and bee buried with him, that we may ariſe and aſcend into the heaven with him, and from thence come to judge the quick and the dead, which dead is the ſinnes that is dead and loſt for ever out of us: and the quicke, is the living righteouſneſſe to raign in us for ever; therefore unleſſe I ſee the myſtery of theſe things wrought in me, the hiſtory thereof can do me no good, for in the hiſtory of the death of Chriſt, is ſhewed a great deale of weakeneſſe, for it is ſaid that hee was ſo mightily afraid of death, that he did ſweat drops of blood, and all the wrath of his Father did but extend to the death of the externall manhood upon the Croſſe, but it ſeemeth ſtrange to me (that hee that had the power of heaven and earth) ſhould be ſo much afraid of an externall and bodily death, when there hath beene many ſince that have dyed for their religion, and for his ſake more terrible deaths: being drawn to peeces with wild horſes, fleyed, burned alive, broyled, roaſted, boyled in lead, and all the terrible deaths that could be deviſed by wicked and devilliſh men to put them to, as is made mention of in the booke of Martyrs, yet there was ſeene no ſuch weakneſſe in them, but they went to their deaths cheerfully, thinking themſelves happy to ſuffer for his ſake: Wherefore you may eaſily perceive, that there is a greater myſtery in the ſame which few doe ſee or diſcerne.

For my part I do not deny the hiſtory of the Scripture, but doe beleeve that thoſe things were acted upon the Theater of this externall world, to ſhew to us what is acted upon the Theater of our internall world; but if we

looke upon the hyſtory of Scripture, as things acted by other men, and take no more notice of it, we deceive our ſelves, for all the hyſtories points upon us, and we are the man intended; for when Nathan the Prophet came to David, he ſeemed to ſpeake to him of another, when as hee meant himſelfe, and David did conclude what the action repreſented to him in the perſon of another (by Nathan) was unjuſt, not thinking that the Prophet intended himſelf but another, and ſo judged him to death: but when the Prophet ſaid it was himſelf, and that he was the man; hee was ſorry, and loth to dye himſelfe, although he did judge the other to death, and thought he deſerved death juſtly: but in condemning the other he judged himſelfe. Therefore wee are the men that are to be condemned or ſaved, according as our deſervings are, and the Scripture is the reall truth, and is our true Nathan the Prophet that tells us what we have done, but he tells us our ſelves in hiſtories, and in the perſon of others, to try how farre we condemne others, and juſtifie our ſelves, but when wee condemne others we condemne our ſelves; for wee are the guiltie and that wicked man, therefore looke into the Scripture as if it were thy owne ſoule, for all that is written there, is written in thy ſelfe: and there is the two tables, the table of ſtone, (thy ſtony heart) that is ingraven with a rough penne and with a thundering voice, which is the whole worke and curſe of the law for thy ſinnes, and the other table is the heart of fleſh, which is ſoft and melteth at the word that is written in thee, and is ready to obey all the words of the commandements that ſpeaketh in thee: but the table of ſtone (thy diſobedient and ſtony heart) muſt be broken for thy ſinne and diſobedience cauſe, and for thy Idolatries and all thy ſinnes riſeing up againſt thee, crying vengeance, ſo that thy God (or goodneſſe in his great zeale) throweth downe thy ſtony heart, breaking it to peeces, and burneth up all thy Idoll Gods to powder, makeing thee drinke up their aſhes (which is to make thee taſte of the death and loſſe of them) and ſtill his zeale is ſo great towards thee, that hee maketh thee ſheath thy ſword into thy brothers belly, which brother is thy neareſt ſelfe will or thy darling ſinnes, ſo when thou haſt fulfilled the will of thy Jelous God, he returneth to his place where hee was before, and the tables of ſtone or ſtony heart is turned to fleſh, and is obedient to the will of God and keepeth his commandements, the which I wiſh all Soules may do for their ſoules health and ſafety.

There be many at this time that looke externally for an infallible ſpirit, when as the infallible ſpirit is internall in the ſoule of every man, for the ſame ſpirit is Jeſus Chriſt, the word of life that is neare thee, even in thy heart and mouth to do it, and to be obedient unto the ſame; and he is that pearle hid in the field of thy heart, for which thou muſt ſell all that thou haſt to purchaſe this field that thou mayeſt injoy that pearle.

And

And there are others that thinke that the externall body is the ſoule, and that it muſt dye and muſt anſwer for ſinne by that death, and that it muſt riſe againe at the laſt day by Chriſt; therefore God cannot be their God whilſt their body is dead, for he is not the God of the dead but of the living; then whilſt they live here they may live as they liſt, and commit what ſinnes they will, for their body dying (which they take for the ſoul) doth make ſatisfaction for their ſinne, which of neceſſity muſt draw this conſequence, that if one man kill another he doth but the will of God, for he ſaith, the ſoul that ſinneth muſt dye: I wonder much what thoſe people (that hold ſuch opinions) can ſay or think of little children that dye in the wombe, or as ſoon as they are borne; certainly no man in reaſon can ſay that their ſoule hath ſinned, but you will alleadge their parents have ſinned for them, as others have ſaid; if it be ſo, the ſinne of one condemneth a great many that of themſelves hath not ſinned, the which to me appeareth to be altogether againſt reaſon and juſtice, and is againſt the nature of God to condemne the children for the ſinne of the parents, for Ezekiel ſaith 18. that this proverb ſhould be no more in Iſrael, That the fathers had eaten ſour grapes, and the childrens teeth are ſet on edge; but he ſaith that every ſoule ſtandeth upon his owne bottome or its owne ſelfe, and the ſoule that ſinneth ſhall dye: alſo there are many creatures or bodies (which they call ſoules) that are drowned in the ſea, and divers fiſhes have fed upon that body, or that which they call the ſoul, and theſe fiſhes have concocted or digeſted the ſoule of this man, and it is turned into the fleſh of a fiſh, and afterwards this fiſh is taken, and another man or ſoule eats this fiſh which is the concocted ſoule of the other man, ſo that his ſoule is made fat and increaſed thereby, the one ſoule by eating the other, and Caniballs which are men, eat other men and are fed thereby: now when the ſoules of all theſe men are dead and concocted in thoſe that have eat them, how ſhall every one have his own proper ſoule at the laſt day when all the ſoules ſhall ariſe? I would willingly hear it proved by good reaſon how every one can have his owne ſoule againe, ſeeing they are all concocted and digeſted one in another: but perhaps you will ſay we muſt believe againſt reaſon, which is conſequently that we muſt believe an abſurdity; and the Apoſtle St. Paul deſireth to be delivered from unreaſonable men, which were abſurd and did believe againſt reaſon, for all men have not faith whoſe foundation is grounded upon reaſon; this body which they call the ſoule is dead without the ſpirit, as St. James witneſſeth in the ſecond Chap. where he ſaith, that as the body without the ſpirit is dead, even ſo is faith without workes; by which Scripture it is manifeſt, that the body without the ſoul or ſpirit is dead, and as is ſaid before, God cannot be their God, becauſe their body (which they tearm the ſoul) is dead, ſo as he ceaſeth to

be their God while they are dead, all which is contrary to ſenſe, reaſon and Scripture, where it is ſaid that he is the living God, and the God of the living and not of the dead; alſo it is contrary to ſenſe and reaſon in this, that that which is the God, good, felicity, or chiefe happineſſe of thoſe that live, and are rationall and ſenſible of the ſame, cannot in ſenſe, reaſon or Scripture, be ſaid to be the joy, happineſſe, or God of the dead, becauſe he is not ſenſible or capable of any joy, felicity or happineſſe at all.

THe ſumme of all, and the whole diſcourſe of this Book is, that we ſhould feare to diſobey the holy God, but keep all his Commandements which is the whole duty of man, and to live a pure, exact, juſt and holy life, not doing to any man what we would not have done to us, but doing all the good to another that we would have done to us; and this is the infallible Spirit, Jeſus Chriſt, the power of God in us, which directs, corrects, inſtructs, perſwades, and makes us wiſe unto ſalvation; for he is the holy word of life unto us, and he is the Father, Elder, true Biſhop, and high Prieſt of our ſoules; ſo that we need no other Father, Elder, Biſhop, nor high Prieſt, but this holy Ieſus Chriſt in us, for he is the holy unction that we have from above, and the holy One that teacheth us all things, and diſcovers all myſteries unto us, leading us into all truth, if ſo be that we are obedient unto him; but if we are not obedient unto this infallible Spirit Ieſus Chriſt in us, then wee ſhall know nothing of God or of the Scripture, but it ſhall be a ſealed book, a dead letter, and ſeeming contradiction unto us: but I hope we ſhall all learne and bee taught of him, and declare every one to his friend and neighbour what the Lord (the infallible Spirit) hath done for his poore ſoule, ſaying, What we have learned, heard, felt and taſted of the good word of life, that will we declare unto you.

FINIS.



A full relation of the Skirmishes between Sir VVil. *Waller, and the Kings forces at Cropredy Bridge.*
The Great overthrow of the King of Spaine, by the King of Portugall.
A Ship with 3000 Armes taken by the E. of VVarwicks *Forces, bound for Exceter.*

Numb. 18



Mercurius Civicus.
LONDONS
INTELLIGENCER:
OR,
Truth impartially related from thence to the whole Kingdome,
to prevent mis-information.

From *Thursday June* 27. to *Thursday July* 4. 1644.

IT hath been alwayes my intention to communicate the Intelligence, which is brought to this honorable City of *London*, as well as to relate the affaires which are agitated therein, and doe more properly belong thereunto, as they are resolved upon and executed for the welfare and deliverance thereof. And as for other Information, I know most people (especially the

the Inhabitants of this City) doe desire to be truly advertised of the motions and actions of such forces which are sent out thence; whether to the Army of his Excellency the Parliaments Lord Generall in chiefe, or under Sir *Wil. Waller* and Major Generall *Browne* subordinate to his command; under each of which at this present many of this City Forces either of the Trained-Bands, or Auxiliaries (are as is commonly knowen) already Ingaged. Also for the more certainty of such Relations as I shall publish, I shall confine my selfe (as neere as is possible) to that Information which shall be sent by Letters from divers credible persons in the said severall Armies, and not build too confidently upon common fame and vulgar reports, which usually are raised and made up of uncertainties and therefore can afford no good foundation for the structure of truth to be built upon.

The last weeke I gave you an account of the severall marchings of the Forces under the command of Major Generall *Skippon*, upon their departure from *London* to Hammersmith *June* 20. From whence on munday *June.* 24. they went to Barnet, and from thence marched the next day towards S. Albans. And about the latter end of the weeke they came to Dunstable where the Kings Forces had bin the Lords Day before, and had shot Mr. *Plot* the Innkeeper as I told you the last weeke, although he did not deny them any horses (nor indeed give them any probable occasion of offence) as was then advertised.

On the Lords day in the morning *June* 30. at five a clock, they marched from Dunstable, and as it is certified by Letters dated the same night they lay that at Leyton Buzzard in Berkshire, when by some speciall messengers from Sir *Wil. Wallers* Army they were informed of the skirmishes between Sir *Wil. Waller* and the Kings Forces; The relation of which is thus imparted in a Letter from thence dated *June* 30.

SIR,

THe occasion that I wrote not unto you before according to my promise was, for that we are yet upon our march, and have not been any where engaged against the enemy; and therefore as

concerning our selves I cannot informe you of any thing observable, but of our severall marchings towards Sir Wil. Waller, who (as we are here certified) is in sight at Ayno neere Buckingham; he hath been engaged yesterday and this day with the enemy; yesterday he lost an hundred men and 5 small pieces of Ordnance, which neither side can yet fetch off. This morning the enemies horse under the command of Commissary Wilmot made a furious assault at Cropredy-bridge, and were as gallantly repulsed, many slaine, and 60 of them taken prisoners by Sir William, besides 4 Captaines of Foot, one Captaine of Horse, and 3 other Officers. Sir William Waller still keeps the bridge, with an intention to impede the Kings retreat to Oxford with His forces and so to prevent Him of such supplies of Powder and other provisions which he expects thence. The Armies were neer 10000 each, we are within 16 miles of them and hope to be with Sir Wil. VValler to morrow July 1. (being Munday) at noone. Our Major-generall hath with much impatience expected the comming to him of the forces raised to be under his command, viz. the E. of VVarwicks Regiment, being 1400. all Horse, which are to serve as Dragoones; Sir Tho. Barringtons Regiment, Sir John Garrets Regiment, Sir Tho. Honywoods Regiment, a thousand in each; besides Col. Nortons Regiment of Horse, and some other Troops. Were but these joyned with us, we should make up a very considerable body for any designe, however our gallant Major-generall resolves to lose no time, and will not be long without action, and then (Sir) you may justly expect to heare more constantly from me of our proceedings.

I should have told you the last weeke (as proper to the Affaires of the City) of the election of Alderman Gibs and Alderman Chambers on Midsummer day (according to the ancient custome) to be Sheriffs of this honourable City for the subsequent yeere. The place to which they are elected require much care and truly and it is not

doubted but like good patriots they will be as cautious and faithfull in the performance of them.

From Yorke we have received no further intelligence then what came by the Letters of the 28 of June, which say, that the E. of Manchester does still make good his breach which he made by springing of a Mine, and that the City of Yorke is much straightned for all manner of provisions, unlesse it be Corne and Malt, their flesh meat is all spent, salt Butter is there sold at two shillings a pound, and very little to be had, and Salt is 5 shillings a pecke. The spotted feaver (by reason of the nastineſſe of their streets) is there very hot, whereof many both Townsmen and Souldiers as well women as children doe daily die. For the relation concerning the blowing up into the aire of one of the E. of *Newcastles* Souldiers, that sate upon a Wool-sacke on St. *Maries* Tower, and his falling into the Earle of Manchesters quarters unhurt, though strange, yet it is very certaine and the man is yet alive and well, his body being not at all hurt, though his clothes were scorched, and some part of them sing'd off. He is now kept prisoner by the Earle of Manchesters forces, and is ready (besides those that were eye-witnesses) to attest the truth thereof.

Also Munday last July 1. it was further certified that Pr. *Ruperts* forces were got into Yorkshire as farre as Skipton upon Craven, the E. of Cumberlands house, within lesse then 30 miles of Yorke, at their first entrance a party of his horse were met by Major *Shuttleworth*, who slew 400 of them, tooke 60 of them, besides Sir *Simon Fanshaw* Lieutenant-col. to Sir *Charles Lucas* Major *Cane*, and some other Commanders. The L. Generall *Leven*, the E. of Manchester, and the L. *Fairfax* have commanded their Forces both of horse and foot from the parts adjoyning to Craven. Sir *Tho. Fairfax*, Major generall *Lesley*, and Lieutenant-generall *Cromwell* lie 12 miles from York, & some of them at Rippon with 12000 horse and foot, to wch it is resolved that 10000 more shall be added if Pr. *Rupert* advance that way, and the E. of Denbigh and Col. *Mitton* with their forces, and those of Shropshire, Cheshire, and the Moorelanders under Col. *Harison* of Staffordshire, and Sir *John Meldrum* with his forces out of Lancashire are to fall upon the reare, and so endeavour the waking on that Pr. of Plunderers his forces (which if once done, His Majestie

ſhe will not have any conſiderable body to keepe the field in any part of the Kingdome; ſo that this opportunity if happily purſued through Gods aſſiſtance will ſtrike the greateſt ſtroke to the ending of theſe civil differences.

Tueſday, July 2. we had more particular intelligence by other Letters from Sir *William Wallers* army, concerning the ſkirmiſhes between his and the Kings forces on Saturday, and the Lords day laſt, and that the occaſion of his loſſe was thus, our forces had command to keep a bridge which the enemy intended to have paſſed over; but not obſerving their command went over the bridge, purſued the Kings forces; whereupon a party of the Kings horſe wheeled about, tooke 100 priſoners, kild ſome 20. and tooke 5 Drakes; and two Leather-guns. And then came up Lieutenant-generall *Middleton*, a Scotch-man, and he charged violently at the Kings forces, and tooke two of the Drakes againe, and 60 men priſoners, beſides Officers and perſons of quality; that the Lord *Wilmot* was wounded, Sir *Wil. Butler*, a Commander on the Kings ſide ſlain, and two Colonels more. Alſo that the King finding his Army were not able to force their way over the bridge, and ſo to get to Oxford as He intended, drew them towards Worceſter way, and yet takes up quarters at Brackley, and Sir *William Waller*, and the reſt doe watch His motion.

The latter end of the laſt weeke a party of about 30 horſe being ſent out from Coventry by Major *Pureſoy* to attend the Kings forces in the reare, they without any command went towards the enemies front and meeting 100 of the enemies horſe, being their forlorne hope, furiouſly diſcharged upon them ſlew one, and tooke 4 of them priſoner, routed the reſt, and made them flie to the whole body, and through Divine providence returned to Coventry, without the loſſe of one man.

For the Cavaliers at Wincheſter and thoſe parts, they doe ſtill continue their accuſtomed plundring courſes, they tooke neere Andover about the Lords day laſt 16 waine loads of cloath, which were comming out of Wiltſhire towards *London*; and at another time they tooke 40. pack-horſes comming from *London*, but thoſe horſes were againe redeemed for 40 l.

Thoſe waine-loads of goods which we told you laſt weeke were

were taken by the Cavaliers of Denington Caſtle have proved to be the goods of divers Malignants thereabouts; which notwithſtanding they pretended to be their friends, yet they doe ſtill retaine them.

By other letters from Yorke, brought to Towne on Tueſday laſt it is further advertiſed; That the Earle of Mancheſters Forces before Yorke continue dayly in action, ſtraitning the beſieged in their quarters, and battering about Bowtham Bar and the Mannour, and the beſiegers frequently iſſue forth and skirmiſh. *June* 24. There were about 20 taken and as many ſlaine of the Kings party, and 2 or 3. hurt and ſlaine of the Earle of Manchesters. That the Lord *Fairefax* and his quarters are alſo in action about and againſt Monck Bar; That the Scotch forces for the moſt part ſtir not by reaſon the beſieged come not out againſt their quarters. Our forces have taken Mulgrave Caſtle in Northumberland & therin Sir *Walter Vavaſor*, and Sir *Peter Middletons* eldeſt ſon and divers other priſoners. The Earle of Kalendar with a reſerve of about 10 or 12 thouſand Scots is come into Blithenoke in Northumberland.

The ſame letters further expreſſe, That there were lately ſome Ordnance landed about VVhitby for the Parliament, of which Colonell *Boynton* having notice did prepare forces to convey them to Mulgrave Caſtle, and had ſent letters to ſome forces in Holdernes to aſſiſt him, which letters Sir *Hugh Cholmely* intercepting and underſtanding thereby the deſigne, makes his ſtrength and goes and skirmiſhes with our forces, which a Maſter of a Ship on our ſide perceiving, ſent aſhore a Drake and 20 Muſketeers, which by a miſtake comming to ſir *Hugh* were ſurpriſed; but for that report That VVhitby is gained by Colonell *Boynton*, and that Drake regained 40 men with Armes taken, and that he hath appointed one *Newton* to be Governour thereof, it is uncertaine.

All the great and vaſt dales in the North-riding of Yorkeſhire, together with their two ſtrong Caſtles of Midlam and Bolton, ſtand ſtill as formerly, to wit, in a neutrall poſture, and to this day would never beare Armes, or pay Contributions, notwithſtanding all the ſeverall Summons, Threats, Propoſitions ſent unto them.

Colonell *Charles Fairfax*, a prudent and valiant Gentleman, hath

hath againe reduced most of the Bishoprick of Durham to the obedience of the King and Parliament, and is now with about 1200. horse about Durham and Sunderland.

The siege before the two Garrisons of the enemy of Bising house, and Greenland-house is still closely continued, and they are come within Musket-shot of both of them; so that it is conceived they will not long hold out against them; On saturday last there were two marter peeces and divers Granadoes sent from *London*, to those before Bising-house, That they might the sooner beate open the Gates or otherwise command entrance.

Tuesday night *June* 2. There was very great exultation at the house of the *Portugall* Ambassador in Lincolns Inne Fields, both by making bonfires, and other Testimonies of Rejoycing for the obtaining a late glorious victory over the King of *Spaine* by his Master the King of *Portugall*.

On Saturday last *June* 29. according to the desire of the House of Commons this day imparted to the House of Peeres by Mr. *Prideaux* the Lords passed an Ordinance; *That no person Member of either house that hath deserted the Parliament and adhered to the enemy should ever sit in Parliament more*.

From the Lord Generalls Army in the West, we had very little Intelligence this weeke, only that he marched from Chard towards Exceter Saturday last *June* 29. but what hath bin since done is not yet ascertained.

Wednesday *July* 3. there came letters to the Parliament, from the Earle of *Warwick* wherein he informes them. That a man of war set out by the Merchants of *London* had taken as prize, a Ship laden with 3000 Armes and much Ammunition going to Exeter, which now brought into the Cowes in the Isle of Wight.

The same day we had also intelligence by Letters of the Earle of Denbighs Army, that on the 28 of June he was at Nantwich in the way to Lancashire, and that Sir *William Brereton* was in the mid way between that and Lancashire, they and the rest of the forces before-mentioned intending with all speed possible to march after Pr. *Rupert*.

The ever-renowned Major-generall *Brereton* on munday last, July 1. advanced from Buckingham towards Sir *Wil. Waller*, so that it is

not

not doubted but they are by this time joyned together and in a close pursuit of the Kings forces.

I told you before of the great Triumph at the Portugall Ambassadours by setting up Torches and other lights about the house, according to the customs of that Country. I have since received a particular of their successe against the King of Spaine, which is as followeth:

There were in the field 15000 *Spaniards, and* 13000 *Portugals. Whereof there was slaine,*

Of Spanish horse 1100. *Of Spanish foot* 2600.
Taken prisoners 2000. *Ordnance taken* 12 *pieces.*
Muskets taken 4000.

The Spanish Generall was slaine.
The Marshall of the Field, and the Marquesse of Barcarota.
Besides bag and baggage taken.

On the Portugals side were slaine.

100 *Horse.* 300 *Foot.*
2 *great Commanders.* 1 *Serjeant-major.*
2 *Captaines.* 2 *great Gentlemen.*

Wednesday July 3. there came Letters also to the Parliament from Sir *William Waller*, which had been brought sooner had not the Post that brought them beene taken by the Kings Scouts. The effect of the Letters were the same with those formerly mentioned, *viz.* That at first he lost 8 small pieces of Ordnance and some men, but that afterwards Col. *Middleton* most valiantly charged through the enemy five times, slew many of them, and routed the rest, which are now gone Northwards; and that he was confident they had little cause to boast of that businesse.

The chiefe Commander lost on our side in this incounter, was *Q. Wems* Generall of the Ordnance to Sir *Wil. Waller*, who is taken prisoner by the enemy, and one other Commander slaine.

Printed according to Order.

London, Printed for T. B. and J. J. and are to be sold in the old Bayley. 1643.

New-Englands ADVICE TO Old-England.

OR,

Some OBSERVATIONS upon *New-Englands* Government, compared with the Ancient Government of *Old-England*: not unfitting to be taken into serious consideration in these miserable distracted times.

Written by one that hath lived there, and seene the division and danger that followeth upon the obtruding a different Government to that of Old England.

Longum iter per præcepta, bene & efficax per exempla.

Plures aliorum eventis docentur. *Tacit. An. Lib. 3.*

London
5. July Printed in the Yeere,
MDCXLIV.

To The Reader.

EVery man is to approve himselfe, and answer to God for his actions his conseience leads him to; and next, to good men, as much as in him lyeth. I have thus presumed to enter into publique; for these reasons:

First, because it is well knowne unto many, that heretofere I suffered imprisonment, and a kind of banishment out of this good Land, for some acts construed to oppose, and as tending to subvert Episcopacie, and the setled Ecclesiasticall government of England: therefore now I desired to purge my self of so great a scandall; and wherein I have offended, to intreat all my Superiours, and others, to impute it rather to my ignorance, for the time, then any wilfull stubbornnesse.

Secondly, seeing that since my comming home, I find that multitudes are corrupted with an opinion of the unlawfulnesse of the Church-government by Diocesan Bishops, which opinion I beleeve is the root of much mischiefe; having now had experience of divers governments, I see not how I could with faithfulnesse to God, my King and Country, be any longer silent, especially considering some of these late troubles occasioned, among other sins, I fear, much through this evill opinion. Happy

ſhall I be, if any be made wiſer by my harmes; I wiſh all men to take heed, how they ſhake hands with the Church of God, upon any ſuch heedleſſe grounds as I almoſt had done.

Thirdly, that I might (though unworthy) in a fit ſeaſon, acquaint the learned and pious Divines of England *with theſe my ſlender obſervations, quæres, and experiments, to the end they may come the better prepared, upon any publique occaſion, for the conſideration of ſuch matters, and ſo at length, thoſe good things that are ſhaken among us may be eſtabliſhed, and truth confirmed.*

It is enough for me, being a Student or Practiſer at Law, faithfully to put a Caſe, which will be this: Whether the Epiſcopall Government by Provinciall and Dioceſan Biſhops, in number about 26. in England, *being, if not of abſolute Divine authority, yet neareſt, and moſt like thereunto, and moſt anciently here embraced, is ſtill ſafeſt to be continued?*

Or a Presbyterian government, being (as is humbly conceived) but of humane authority, bringing in a numerous company of above 40000. Presbyters to have chiefe rule in the keyes, in England, *be fit to be newly ſet up here, a thing whereof we have had no experience, and which moderate wiſe men think to be leſſe conſonant to the Divine patterne, and may prove more intolerable then the ſaid Epiſcopacie?*

Or an independent government of every congregationall Church ruling it ſelfe, which introduceth not onely one abſolute Biſhop in every Pariſh, but in effect ſo many men, ſo many Biſhops, according to New-Englands *rule, which in* England *would be Anarchie & confuſion?*

I would entreat thoſe that ſtand for this laſt mentioned manner of government, to be pleaſed to conſider,

1. *That the very terme of* leading, *or* ruling *in the Church, attributed to Elders, forbids it; for if all are Rulers, who ſhall be ruled?*

2. *The maine acts of Rule conſiſt of receiving into the Church by Baptiſme, or otherwiſe, and ejection out of the Church by cenſure, binding and looſing; now theſe are committed to the Apoſtles, and their ſucceſſors, and not to all the members of the Church.*

3. *All have not power to baptize, therefore not to receive into the Church, nor to caſt out of the Church.* My brethren, be not many maſters, *ſaith S. Iames,* 3. 1. The words of the wiſe are as goads, and as nayles, faſtened by the maſters of aſſemblies, which are given from one Shepheard, *Eccleſ.* 12. 11.

And whereas ſome may ſay, that this power of ruling is but miniſterially in the Officers, and initiatively, concluſively, and virtually in the people: If ſo, what power ordinarily have the people to contradict the miniſteriall works and acts of their Officers? Muſt the whole Church try all thoſe whom their Miniſters convert abroad, ſuppoſe among Indians, before they may baptize them? How can all the Church examine and try ſuch? All have not power, warrant, leiſure, pleaſure, ability, for, and in ſuch works, nor can all ſpeake Indian language.

Doubtleſſe the acts of rule by the Officers is the rule of the whole Church, and ſo to be taken ordinarily without contradiction, elſe there would be no end

of jangling: And thus taken, the whole Church of Corinth, *by S.* Pauls *command,* (ſc. *by their Miniſters*) *were to put away that wicked perſon, and deliver him up to Satan,* 1 Cor. 5. 13. *and reſtore him, and forgive him,* 2 Cor. 2. *and ſo all the doubt on that Text is* (*neer I think*) *reſolved.*

Now that the government at New-England *ſeemeth to make ſo many Church-members ſo many Biſhops, will be plaine by this enſuing Diſcourſe: for you ſhall here find, that the Churches in the* Bay *governe each by all their members unanimouſly, or elſe by the major part, wherein every one hath equall vote and ſuperſpection with their Miniſters: and that in their Covenant it is expreſſed to be the duty of all the members, to watch over one another. And in time their Churches will be more corrupted then now they are; they cannot* (*as there is reaſon to feare*) *avoid it poſſibly. How can any now deny this to be Anarchie and confuſion?*

Nay, ſay ſome, we will keep out thoſe that have not true grace. But how can they certainly diſcerne that true grace, and what meaſure God requireth? Beſides, by this courſe, they will (*it is to be feared*) *in ſtead of propagating the Goſpel, ſpread heatheniſme; in ſtead of gaining to the Church, loſe from the Church: for when the major part are unbaptized, as in twenty years undoubtedly they will be, by ſuch a courſe continued, what is like to become of it, but that either they may goe among their fellow-heathens the Indians, or riſe up againſt the Church, and break forth into many grievous diſtempers among themſelves? which God, and the King forbid, I pray.*

And that you (*courteous Reader*) *may perceive I have from*

from time to time dealt cordially in theſe things, by declaring them impartially to my friends, as I received light, I ſhall adde in the laſt place certaine paſſages out Letters, ſent by me into England *to that purpoſe, and conclude.*

And I doe not this, God knoweth, as delighting to lay open the infirmities of theſe well-affected men, many of them my friends, but that it is neceſſary, at this time, for the whole Church of God, and themſelves, as I take it: Beſides, many of the things are not infirmities, but ſuch as I am bound to proteſt againſt; yet I acknowledge there are ſome wiſe men among them, who would help to mend things, if they were able, and I hope will do their endeavours. And I think that wiſer men then they, going into a wilderneſſe to ſet up another ſtrange government differing from the ſetled government here, might have falne into greater errors then they have done.

Neither have I the leaſt aime to retard or hinder an happy and deſired reformation of things amiſſe either in Church or Common-wealth, but daily and earneſtly pray to God Almighty, the God of Wiſdome and Counſell, that he pleaſe ſo to direct his Royall Majeſty, and his wiſe and honourable Counſell, the high Court of Parliament, that they may fall upon ſo due and faire a moderation, as may be for the glory of God, and the peace and ſafety of his Royall Majeſty, and all his Majeſties dominions, and good Subjects. Vale.

Clements Inne,
Jan. 17. 1641.

Thomas Lechford.

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Plaine

Plaine dealing:

OR,

NEWES

FROM

NEW-ENGLAND.

HAving been forth of my native Countrey, almoſt for the ſpace of foure yeeres laſt paſt, and now through the goodneſſe of Almighty God returned, many of my friends deſiring to know of me the manner of governments, and ſtate of things, in the place from whence I came, *New England*; I thinke good to declare my knowledge in ſuch things, as briefly as I may. I conceive, and hope, it may be profitable in theſe times of diſquiſition.

For the Church government, and administrations, in the Bay of the Mattachusets.

How Churches are gathered there.

A Church is gathered there after this maner: A convenient, or competent number of Christians, allowed by the generall Court to plant together, at a day prefixed, come together, in publique manner, in some fit place, and there confesse their sins and professe their faith, one unto another, and being satisfied of one anothers faith & repentance, they solemlny enter into a Covenant with God, and one an other (which is called their Church Covenant, and held by them to constitute a Church) to this effect: *viz.*

Their Church Covenant.

To forsake the Devill, and all his workes, and the vanities of the sinfull world, and all their former lusts, and corruptions, they have lived and walked in, and to cleave unto, and obey the Lord Jesus Christ, as their onely King and Lawgiver, their onely Priest and Prophet, and to walke together with that Church, in the unity of the faith, and brotherly love, and to submit themselves one unto an other, in all the ordinances of Christ, to mutuall edification, and comfort, to watch over, and support one another

Whereby they are called the Chruch of such a place, which before they say were no Church, nor of any Church except the invisible: After this, they doe at the same time, or some other, all being together, elect their own Officers, as

Election of their Church Officers.

Pastor, Teacher, Elders, Deacons, if they have

fit

fit men enough to ſupply thoſe places; elſe, as many of them as they can be provided of.

Then they ſet another day for the ordination of their ſaid officers, and appoint ſome of themſelves to impoſe hands upon their officers, which is done in a publique day of faſting and prayer. Where there are Miniſters, or Elders, before, they impoſe their hands upon the new Officers: But where there is none, there ſome of their chiefeſt men, two or three, of good report amongſt them, though not of the Miniſtery, doe, by appointment of the ſaid Church, lay hands upon them. And after the ſaid ordination, if there are any Elders of other Churches preſent, (as of late I have knowne divers have been preſent, under the names of the Meſſengers of the Churches) they give the new Officers the right hand of fellowſhip, taking them by the right hand, every one ſeverally, or elſe, ſometimes, one forraine Elder, in the name of all the reſt, gives the right hand of fellowſhip, with a ſet ſpeech unto them. Notice is given in divers Churches or other places, before-hand, of the gathering of every Church, divers weeks before; and ſo alſo of every ordination. And ſome Miniſters, or others, as Meſſengers from other Churches, are uſually preſent at ſuch gatherings of Churches, and ordinations: For ſometimes, Magiſtrates, Captains, Gentlemen, and other meaner Brethren, are made meſſengers of Churches, for thoſe and other purpoſes, never having had impoſition of hands: And at planting of a Church, or gathe-

Their ordinations.

The right hand of fellowſhip by meſſengers of Churches.

ring, as they tearme it, one of the Church meſſengers of forraine Churches, examines and tries the men to be moulded into a Church, diſcerns their faith and repentance, and their Covenant being before ready made, written, ſubſcribed, and here read and acknowledged, hee decerns and pronounceth them to be a true Church of Chriſt, and gives them the right hand of fellowſhip, and all this in the name of Chriſt, and of all the Church-meſſengers preſent, and their Churches: ſo did Maſter *Weld* at the founding of *Weymouth* Church, or to this effect.

And the generall Court will not allow of any Church otherwiſe gathered.

Some differ. Some Miniſters have there heretofore, as I have heard, diſclaimed the power of their Miniſtery received in *England*, but others among them have not. Generally, for the moſt part, they hold the Paſtors and Teachers offices to be diſtinct; the Teacher to miniſter a word of knowledg, the Paſtor a word of wiſdome, but ſome hold them all one; as in the Church of *Watertowne*, there are two Paſtors, neither will that Church ſend any meſſengers to any other Church-gathering or ordination.

How members are received, or added to the Church there. When a man or woman commeth to joyne unto the Church ſo gathered, he or ſhee commeth to the Elders in private, at one of their houſes, or ſome other place appointed, upon the weeke dayes, and make knowne their deſire, to enter into Church-fellowſhip with that Church, and then the ruling Elders, or one of them, require,

or

or aske him or her, if he bee willing to make known unto them the worke of grace upon their ſoules, or how God hath beene dealing with them about their converſion: which (at *Boſton*) the man declareth uſually ſtanding, the woman ſitting. And if they ſatisfie the Elders, and the private aſſembly, (for divers of the Church, both men and women, meet there uſually) that they are true beleevers, that they have beene wounded in their hearts for their originall ſinne, and actuall tranſgreſſions, and can pitch upon ſome promiſe of free grace in the Scripture, for the ground of their faith, and that they finde their hearts drawne to beleeve in Chriſt Jeſus, for their juſtification and ſalvation, and theſe in the miniſterie of the Word, reading or conference: and that they know competently the ſumme of Chriſtian faith. And ſometimes, though they be not come to a full aſſurance of their good eſtate in Chriſt. Then afterwards, in covenient time, in the publique aſſembly of the Church, notice is given by one of the ruling Elders, that ſuch a man, or woman, by name, deſireth to enter into Church-fellowſhip with them, and therefore if any know any thing, or matter of offence againſt them, for their unfitneſſe to joyne with them, ſuch are required to bring notice thereof to the Elders; elſe, that any who know them, or can ſay any thing for their fitneſſe, be ready to give teſtimony thereof, when they ſhall be called forth before the whole Church.

The uſuall termes whereupon.

If there be matter of offence, it is firſt heard

Matters of offence how heard in private.

before the Elders, and if the party ſatisfie them, and the offended, in private, for private offences, and promiſe to ſatisfie in publique, for publique offences; then, upon another day, one of the ruling Elders calleth forth the party, by name, in the publique aſſembly of the Church, and before ſtrangers, and whomſoever preſent, moſt commonly upon the Lords day, after evening exerciſes, and ſometimes upon a week day, when all the Church have notice to be preſent.

Dilatorie proceedings in admitting members.

The party appearing in the midſt of the Aſſembly, or ſome convenient place, the ruling Elder ſpeaketh in this manner: Brethren of this congregation, this man, or woman *A. B.* hath been heretofore propounded to you, deſiring to enter into Church-fellowſhip with us, and we have not, ſince that, heard any thing from any of you to the contrary, of the parties admittance, but that we may goe on to receive him: Therefore now, if any of you know any thing againſt him, why he may not be admitted, you may yet ſpeak. Then after ſome ſilence he proceedeth, Seeing no man ſpeaketh to the contrary of his admiſſion, if any of you know any thing, to ſpeak for his receiving, we deſire you, give teſtimony thereof to the Church, as you were alſo formerly deſired to be ready therewith, and expreſſe your ſelves as briefly as you may, and to as good hearing. Whereupon, ſometimes, men do ſpeak to the contrary, in caſe they have not heard of the propounding, and ſo ſtay the party for that time alſo, till this new offence be heard before the Elders,

Elders, ſo that ſometimes there is a ſpace of divers moneths between a parties firſt propounding and receiving; and ſome are ſo baſhfull, as that they chooſe rather to goe without the Communion, then undergoe ſuch* publique confeſſions and tryals, but that is held their fault.

* Whether Pepiſh Auricular confeſſion, and

theſe publique confeſſions be not extremes, and whether ſome private Paſtorall or Presbyteriall collation, left at liberty, upon cauſe, and in caſe of trouble of conſcience, as in the Church of England is approved, be not better then thoſe extremes, I leave to the wiſe and learned to judge.

Teſtimonials and Recommendations.

But when none ſpeaketh to the contrary, then ſome one, two, or three, or more of the Brethren ſpeak their opinions of the party, giving inſtances in ſome godlineſſe and good converſation of his, or ſome other recommendation is made, and that they are willing (if the Church thereto conſent) for their part, to give him the right hand of fellowſhip.

Which done, the Elder turneth his ſpeech to the party to be admitted, and requireth him, or ſometimes asketh him, if he be willing to make knowne to the congregation the work of grace upon his ſoule; and biddeth him, as briefly, and audibly, to as good hearing as he can, to doe the ſame.

Publique confeſſions of parties to be received.

Thereupon the party, if it be a man, ſpeaketh himſelfe; but if it be a woman, her confeſſion made before the Elders, in private, is moſt uſually (in *Boſton* Church) read by the Paſtor, who regiſtred the ſame. At *Salem* the women ſpeake themſelves, for the moſt part, in the Church; but of late it is ſaid, they doe this upon the week dayes there, and nothing is done on Sunday, but their

their entrance into Covenant. The man in a ſolemne ſpeech, ſometimes a quarter of an houre long, ſhorter or longer, declareth the work of grace in his ſoule, to the ſame purpoſe, as that before the Elders formerly mentioned.

Their profeſſion of faith.

Then the Elder requireth the party to make profeſſion of his faith; which alſo is done either by queſtions and anſwers, if the party be weake, or elſe in a ſolemne ſpeech according to the ſumme and tenour of the Chriſtian faith laid downe in the Scriptures, defining faith, and ſhewing how it is wrought by the Word, and Spirit of God, defining a Church to be a company of beleevers gathered out of the world, by the Word preached, and holy Spirit, and knit together by an holy Covenant, that there are in the Church remaining ſuch and ſuch officers, and members, as aforeſaid: That is to ſay, Paſtors and Teachers, ruling Elders, Deacons and Deaconeſſes, or Widowes; and ſuch and ſuch are their offices and duties in particular, *viz.* the Paſtor to exhort, and beſides to rule; the Teacher to inſtruct in knowledge, and likewiſe to rule; the ruling Elder to aſſiſt Paſtor and Teacher in ruling; as the Levites were given to the Prieſts for helps, and to ſee to whomſoever comming into, or to goe forth of the Church, by admonition, or excommunication; the Deacon to receive the contributions of the Church, and faithfully to diſpoſe the ſame; the Deaconeſſes to ſhew mercie with chearfulneſſe, and to miniſter to the ſick and poore brethren; the members all, to watch

Officers in the Church.

Their duties or offices.

Members duties.

watch over and ſupport one an other in brotherly love.

Notwithſtanding, there was a Sermon lately made by Maſter *Cotton* in *October*, *Anno* 1640. upon 1 *Cor.* 11. 19. touching hereſies, which was ſince commonly there called the Sermon of the twelve Articles, wherein was declared, that there are twelve Articles of Religion, which maintained by any, the Church may receive them, and keepe fellowſhip with them; but the ignorant of them after inſtruction and ſcandalous ſins unrepented, exclude from the fellowſhip of the Church. The ſaid Articles were to this effect: Firſt, that there are three Perſons in one God, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Spirit. Secondly, that this God made, and governs all the World, and that he is a rewarder of the good, and puniſher of the evill. Thirdly, that this God alone is to be worſhiped. Fourthly, this worſhip of God is inſtituted in his written Word, not the precepts of men. Fiftly, that from the fall of *Adam*, we have not ſo worſhiped God, but have all ſinned, and deprived our ſelves of the reward promiſed, and therefore are under the curſe by nature. Sixthly, that we are by nature utterly unable to reſcue our ſelves from this curſe. Seventhly, that Jeſus Chriſt the eternall Sonne of God, in fulneſſe of time took upon him our nature, and was made fleſh for us, and by his death and ſufferings, redeemed his elect from ſin, and death. Eighthly, that Chriſt Jeſus, and ſalvation by him, is offered, and given in the

A Sermon of twelve Articles of Religion.

Goſpell, unto every one that beleeveth in his name, and onely by ſuch received. Ninthly, that no man can come unto Chriſt, nor beleeve on him, except the Father draw him by his Word and Spirit. Tenthly, whom the Lord draws to him by his Word and Spirit, them he juſtifies freely by his grace, and according to his truth, not by works. Eleventhly, where the ſoule is juſtified, it is alſo regenerate and ſanctified. Twelfthly, this regeneration and ſanctification is ſtill imperfect in this life. And unto all is added this generall Article, That ſuch as walke after this rule, ſhall ariſe to everlaſting life; and thoſe that walk otherwiſe, ſhall ariſe to everlaſting condemnation, in the day of Judgement: That the knowledge and beliefe of theſe are of the *foundation of Religion*: But things touching the *foundation of Churches*, as Baptiſme, Impoſition of hands; ignorance in theſe may hinder the meaſure of our reward in heaven; not communion with the Church on earth. Exceptions againſt the Apoſtles Creed were theſe: That it is not of neceſſity to beleeve Chriſts deſcent into hell in any ſenſe; That it is not in that Creed contained, that the Scripture is the onely rule of Gods worſhip; nor doth it ſo directly ſet forth the point of Juſtification.

Maſter *Knolls* how admitted.

And alſo I remember Maſter *Knolles*, now one of the Paſtors at *Watertowne*, when he firſt came to be admitted at *Boſton*, never made any mention in his profeſſion of faith, of any Officers of the Church in particular, or their duties, and yet was received.

The

The party having finiſhed his Diſcourſes of his confeſſion, and profeſſion of his faith, the Elder againe ſpeaketh to the congregation: Brethren of the congregation, if what you have heard of, from this party, doe not ſatisfie you, as to move you to give him the *right hand of fellowſhip*, uſe your liberty, and declare your mindes therein: And then, after ſome ſilence, if none except againſt the parties expreſſions, (as often ſome members doe) then the Elder proceedeth, ſaying, But if you are ſatisfied with that you have heard of, and from him, expreſſe your willingneſſe, and conſent to receive him, by your *uſuall ſigne*, which is *erection and extention of the right hand.*

Right hand of fellowſhip given to brethren.

The whole Church ruleth.

This done, ſometimes they proceede to admit more members, all after the ſame manner, for the moſt part, two, three, foure, or five, or more together, as they have time, ſpending ſometimes almoſt a whole afternoone therein. And then the Elder calleth all them, that are to be admitted, by name, and rehearſeth the covenant, on their parts, to them, which they publiquely ſay, they doe promiſe, by the helpe of God, to performe: And then the Elder, in the name of the Church, promiſeth the Churches part of the covenant, to the new admitted members. So they are received, or admitted.

Their entrance into Covenant.

Then they may receive the Sacrament of the Lords ſupper with them, and their children bee baptized, but not before: alſo till then they may not be free men of the Common-wealth, but being received in the Church they may.

Severing in the family.

Sometimes the Maſter is admitted, and not the ſervant, *& è contra*: the husband is received, and not the wife; and on the contrary, the child, and not the parent.

Offences, how heard in publique.

Alſo all matters of publique offence are heard & determined in publique, before all the Church, (and ſtrangers too in *Boſton*, not ſo in other places) The party is called forth, and the matter declared and teſtified by two witneſſes; then he is put to anſwer: Which finiſhed, one of the ruling Elders asketh the * congregation if they are ſatisfied with the parties expreſſions? If they are, he requireth them to uſe their *liberty*, and declare their ſatisfiedneſſe; If not, and that they hold the party worthy of admonition or excommunication, that they witneſſe their aſſent thereto by their ſilence. If they be ſilent, the ſentence is denounced. If it be for defaults in erroneous opinions onely, the Teacher, they ſay, is to denounce the ſentence; If for matter of ill manners, the Paſtor denounceth it; the ruling Elders doe not uſually denounce any ſentence: But I have heard, a Captaine delivered one to Satan, in the Church at *Dorcheſter*, in the abſence of their Miniſter.

The whole Church ruling and uſurping the keyes.

* Whether a grave and judicious conſiſtorie of the Biſhop well aſſiſted be not a greatdeale better, I leave to our ſuperiours to determine.

Who denounce Church cenſures.

Ordinarily, matter of offence is to be brought to the Elders in private, they may not otherwiſe *tell the* * *Church* in ordinary matters, and ſo it hath been declared in publique, by the Paſtors of *Boſton*.

Dic Eccleſiæ.

** This agreeth with the rule in *England*.

The admoniſhed muſt, in good manners, abſtain from the Communion, and muſt goe on to ſatisfie the Church, elſe Excommunication follows.

Admonition.

The

The excommunicate is held *as an Heathen and Publican*: Yet it hath been declared at *Boſton* in divers caſes, that children may eate with their parents excommunicate, that an elected Magiſtrate excommunicate may hold his place, but better another were choſen; that an hereditary Magiſtrate, though excommunicate, is to be obeyed ſtill in civill things, that the excommunicate perſon may come and heare the Word, and be preſent at Prayer, ſo that he give not publique offence, by taking up an eminent place in the Aſſembly: But at *New-haven, alias Quinapeag*, where Maſter *Davenport* is Paſtor, the excommunicate is held out of the meeting, at the doore, if he will heare, in froſt, ſnow, and raine. Moſt an-end, in the *Bay*, they uſe good moderation, and forbearance in their cenſures: Yet I have known a Gentlewoman excommunicate, for ſome indiſcreet words, with ſome ſtifneſſe maintained, ſaying, A brother, and others, ſhe feared, did conſpire to arbitrate the price of Joyners worke of a chamber too high, and endeavouring to bring the ſame into civill cognizance, not proceeding to take two or three to convince the party, and ſo to tell the Church, (though ſhee firſt told the party of it) and this without her husband. I feare ſhe is not yet abſolved; I am ſure ſhe was not upon the third of Auguſt laſt, when we looſed from *Boſton*. Excommunication.

There hath been ſome difference about juriſdictions, or cognizance of cauſes: Some have held, that in cauſes betweene brethren of the Church, the matter ſhould be firſt told the Cognizance of cauſes.

Church, before they goe to the civill Magiſtrate, becauſe all cauſes in difference doe amount, one way or other, to a matter of offence; and that all criminall matters concerning Church members, ſhould be firſt heard by the Church. But theſe opinioniſts are held, by the wiſer ſort, not to know the dangerous iſſues and conſequences of ſuch tenets. The Magiſtrates, and Church-leaders, labour for a juſt and equall correſpondence in juriſdictions, not to intrench one on the other, neither the civill Magiſtrates to be exempt from Eccleſiaſticall cenſure, nor the Miniſters from Civill: & whether Eccleſiaſticall, or Civillpower firſt begin to lay hold of a man, the ſame to proceed, not barring the other to intermeddle.

Churches independent.

Every Church hath power of government in, and by it ſelfe; and no Church, or Officers, have power over one another but by way of advice or counſaile, voluntarily given or beſought, ſaving that the generall Court, now and then, over-rule ſome Church matters: and of late, divers of the Miniſterie have had ſet meetings to order Church matters; whereby it is conceived they bend towards Presbyterian rule.

Difference of rule in Churches.

In *Boſton*, they rule, moſt an-end, by unanimous conſent, if they can, both in admiſſions, and cenſures, and other things. In *Salem*, they rule by the major part of the Church; You that are ſo minded hold up your hands; you that are otherwiſe minded, hold up yours.

Conſiſtory. A better Conſiſtory is, and may be conſtituted in *England*.

In *Boſton*, when they cannot agree in a matter, they will ſometime referre it to ſome ſelect brethren

thren to heare and end, or to certifie the Church, and any brethren, that will, to be preſent at the diſcuſſe in private.

Some Churches have no ruling Elders, ſome but one, ſome but one teaching Elder, ſome have two ruling, and two teaching Elders; ſome one, ſome two or three Deacons; ſome hold that one Miniſter is enough for a ſmall number of people; No Church there hath a Deaconeſſe, as far as I know.

Difference in number of Officers.

Where farmes or villages are, as at *Rumney-marſh* and *Marblehead*, there a Miniſter, or a brother of one of the congregations of *Boſton* for the *Marſh*, and of *Salem* for *Marblehead*, preacheth and exerciſeth prayer every Lords day, which is called propheſying in ſuch a place. And ſo it was heretofore at *Mountwoollaſton* within *Boſton* precincts, though ſince it became a Church now called of *Braintree*, but before they of the mount did, and thoſe of the *Marſh* and *Marblehead* ſtill come and receive the Sacrament at *Boſton*, and *Salem* reſpectively, and ſome of *Braintree* ſtill receive at *Boſton*.

Chappels of eaſe.

Theſe, you ſee, are neceſſary in England in ſome places.

Propheſying.

Alſo when a Miniſter preacheth abroad, in another congregation, the ruling Elder of the place, after the Pſalme ſung, ſaying publiquely; If this preſent brother hath any word of exhortation for the people, at this time, in the name of God let him ſay on; this is held propheſying. Alſo the confeſſions or ſpeeches made by members to be admitted, have beene by ſome held propheſying, and when a brother exerciſeth in his own

Propheſying, or Preaching by Licence.

It ought not to be otherwaies in England.

own congregation (as at *Salem* they doe ſometimes) taking a text of Scripture, and handling the ſame according to his ability. Notwithſtanding, it is generally held in the *Bay*, by ſome of the moſt grave and learned men amongſt them, that none ſhould undertake to propheſie in publique, unleſſe he intend the worke of the Miniſtery, and ſo in ſome places, as in ſchooles *, and not abroad, without they have both impoſition of hands, and miſſion, or permiſſion, becauſe prophecie properly hath its denomination from * *underſtanding propheticall Scriptures*, which to know diſcreetly to handle, requireth good learning, skill in tongues, great fidelity, and good conſcience.

* Univerſities, Cathedrals, and Collegiat Churches.

* 1 Cor. 13. 2.

The publique worſhip.

The publique worſhip. Every Sunday morning.

THE publique worſhip is in as faire a *meeting houſe* as they can provide, wherein, in moſt places, they have beene at great charges. Every Sabbath or Lords day, they come together at *Boſton*, by wringing of a bell, about nine of the clock or before. The Paſtor begins with ſolemn prayer continuing about a quarter of an houre. The Teacher then readeth and expoundeth a Chapter; Then a Pſalme is ſung, which ever one of the ruling Elders dictates. After that the Paſtor preacheth a Sermon, and ſometimes *ex tempore* exhorts. Then the Teacher concludes with prayer, and a bleſſing.

Lords Supper.

Once a moneth is a Sacrament of the Lords Supper, whereof notice is given uſually a fortnight before

before, and then all others departing ſave the Church, which is a great deale leſſe in number then thoſe that goe away, they receive the Sacrament, the Miniſters and ruling Elders ſitting at the Table, the reſt in their ſeats, or upon forms: All cannot ſee the Miniſter conſecrating, unleſſe they ſtand up, and make a narrow ſhift. The one of the teaching Elders prayes before, and bleſſeth, and conſecrates the Bread and Wine, according to the words of Inſtitution; the other prays after the receiving of all the members: and next Communion, they change turnes, he that began at that, ends at this: and the Miniſters deliver the Bread in a Charger to ſome of the chiefe, and peradventure gives to a few the Bread into their hands, and they deliver the Charger from one to another, till all have eaten; in like manner the cup, till all have dranke, goes from one to another. Then a Pſalme is ſung, and with a ſhort bleſſing the congregation is diſmiſſed. Any one, though not of the Church, may, in *Boſton*, come in, and * ſee the Sacrament adminiſtred, if he will: But none of any Church in the Country may receive the Sacrament there, without leave of the congregation, for which purpoſe he comes to one of the ruling Elders, who propounds his name to the congregation, before they goe to the Sacrament.

* Once I ſtood without one of the doores, and looked in, and ſaw the adminiſtration: Beſides, I have had credible relation of all the particulars from ſome of the members.

About two in the after-noone, they repaire to the meeting-houſe againe, and then the Paſtor begins, as before noone, and a Pſalme being

Afternoone.

ſung, the Teacher makes a Sermon. He was wont, when I came firſt, to reade and expound a Chapter alſo before his Sermon in the afternoon. After and before his Sermon, he prayeth.

Baptiſme. After that enſues Baptiſme, if there be any, which is done, by either Paſtor or Teacher, in the Deacons ſeate, the moſt eminent place in the Church, next under the Elders ſeate. The Paſtor moſt commonly makes a ſpeech or exhortation to the Church, and parents concerning Baptiſme, and then prayeth before and after. It is done by waſhing or ſprinkling. One of the parents being of the Church, the childe may be baptized, and the Baptiſme is into the name of the *Father*, and of the *Sonne*, and of the *holy Ghoſt*. No ſureties are required.

Contribution. Which ended, follows the contribution, one of the Deacons ſaying, Brethren of the congregation, now there is time left for contribution, wherefore as God hath proſpered you, ſo freely offer. Upon ſome extraordinary occaſions, as building and repairing of Churches or meeting-houſes, or other neceſſities, the Miniſters preſſe a liberall contribution, with effectuall exhortations out of Scripture. The Magiſtrates and chiefe Gentlemen firſt, and then the Elders, and all the congregation of men, and moſt of them that are not of the Church, all ſingle perſons, widows, and women in abſence of their husbands, come up one after another one way, and bring their offerings to the Deacon at his ſeate, and put it into a box of wood for the purpoſe, if it bee money or papers;

papers; if it be any other chattle, they ſet it or lay it downe before the Deacons, and ſo paſſe another way to their ſeats againe. This contribution is of money, or papers, promiſing ſo much money: I have ſeene a faire gilt cup with a cover, offered there by one, which is ſtill uſed at the Communion. Which moneys, and goods the Deacons diſpoſe towards the maintenance of the Miniſters, and the poore of the Church, and the Churches occaſions, without making account, ordinarily.

But in *Salem* Church, thoſe onely that are of the Church, offer in publique; the reſt are required to give to the Miniſterie, by collection, at their houſes. At ſome other places they make a rate upon every man, as well within, as not of the Church, reſiding with them, towards the Churches occaſions; and others are beholding, now and then, to the generall Court, to ſtudy wayes to enforce the maintenance of the Miniſterie. Differences in contributions.

This done, then followes admiſſion of members, or hearing matters of offence, or other things, ſometimes till it be very late. If they have time, after this, is ſung a Pſalme, and then the Paſtor concludeth with a Prayer and a bleſſing. Admiſſions. Offences.

Upon the week dayes, there are Lectures in divers townes, and in *Boſton*, upon Thurſdayes, when Maſter *Cotton* teacheth out of the *Revelation*. There are dayes of faſting, thanksgiving, Lectures. Faſts & feaſts.

ſung, the Teacher makes a Sermon. He was wont, when I came firſt, to reade and expound a Chapter alſo before his Sermon in the afternoon. After and before his Sermon, he prayeth.

Baptiſme. After that enſues Baptiſme, if there be any, which is done, by either Paſtor or Teacher, in the Deacons ſeate, the moſt eminent place in the Church, next under the Elders ſeate. The Paſtor moſt commonly makes a ſpeech or exhortation to the Church, and parents concerning Baptiſme, and then prayeth before and after. It is done by waſhing or ſprinkling. One of the parents being of the Church, the childe may be baptized, and the Baptiſme is into the name of the *Father*, and of the *Sonne*, and of the *holy Ghoſt*. No ſureties are required.

Contribution. Which ended, follows the contribution, one of the Deacons ſaying, Brethren of the congregation, now there is time left for contribution, wherefore as God hath proſpered you, ſo freely offer. Upon ſome extraordinary occaſions, as building and repairing of Churches or meeting-houſes, or other neceſſities, the Miniſters preſſe a liberall contribution, with effectuall exhortations out of Scripture. The Magiſtrates and chiefe Gentlemen firſt, and then the Elders, and all the congregation of men, and moſt of them that are not of the Church, all ſingle perſons, widows, and women in abſence of their husbands, come up one after another one way, and bring their offerings to the Deacon at his ſeate, and put it into a box of wood for the purpoſe, if it bee money or papers;

papers; if it be any other chattle, they ſet it or lay it downe before the Deacons, and ſo paſſe another way to their ſeats againe. This contribution is of money, or papers, promiſing ſo much money: I have ſeene a faire gilt cup with a cover, offered there by one, which is ſtill uſed at the Communion. Which moneys, and goods the Deacons diſpoſe towards the maintenance of the Miniſters, and the poore of the Church, and the Churches occaſions, without making account, ordinarily.

Differences in contributions.

But in *Salem* Church, thoſe onely that are of the Church, offer in publique; the reſt are required to give to the Miniſterie, by collection, at their houſes. At ſome other places they make a rate upon every man, as well within, as not of the Church, reſiding with them, towards the Churches occaſions; and others are beholding, now and then, to the generall Court, to ſtudy wayes to enforce the maintenance of the Miniſterie.

Admiſſions. Offences.

This done, then followes admiſſion of members, or hearing matters of offence, or other things, ſometimes till it be very late. If they have time, after this, is ſung a Pſalme, and then the Paſtor concludeth with a Prayer and a bleſſing.

Lectures. Faſts & feaſts.

Upon the week dayes, there are Lectures in divers townes, and in *Boſton*, upon Thurſdayes, when Maſter *Cotton* teacheth out of the *Revelation*. There are dayes of faſting, thanksgiving,

and prayers upon [a] occaſions, but no [b] holy dayes, except the Sunday.

[a] And why not ſet faſting dayes & times, and ſet feaſts, as well as ſet Synods in the Reformed Churches? [b] And why not holy dayes as well as the fift of November, and the dayes of Purim among the Jews? Beſides, the commemoration of the bleſſed and heavenly myſteries of our ever bleſſed Saviour, and the good examples and piety of the Saints? What time is there for the moderate recreation of youth, and ſervants, but after divine ſervices on moſt of thoſe dayes, ſeeing that upon the Sunday it is juſtly held unlawfull? And ſure enough, at New-England, the Maſters will and muſt hold their ſervants to their labour more then in other Countries well planted is needfull; therefore I think even they ſhould doe well to admit of ſome Holy dayes too, as not a few of the wiſer ſort among them hold neceſſary and expedient.

Little reading, catechizing.

In ſome Churches, nothing is [c] read on the firſt day of the weeke, or Lords day, but a Pſalme dictated before or after the Sermon, as at *Hingham*; there is no catechizing of children or others in any Church, (except in *Concord* Church, & in other places, of thoſe admitted, in their receiving:) the reaſon given by ſome is, becauſe when people come to be admitted, the Church hath tryall of their knowledge, faith, and repentance, and they want a direct Scripture for Miniſters catechizing; As if, *Goe teach all Nations*, and *Traine up a childe in the way he ſhould goe*, did not reach to Miniſters catechizings. But, God be thanked, the generall Court was ſo wiſe, in *June* laſt, as to enjoyn, or take ſome courſe for ſuch catechizing, as I am informed, but know not the way laid down in particular, how it ſhould be done.

[c] Whereas in *England* every Sunday are read in publique, Chapters and Pſalmes in every Church, beſides the [redacted] Commandements, Epiſtle and Goſpell, the Creed and other good formes and catechizings, and beſides what is read upon Holy dayes and other dayes both in the pariſh, and Cathedrall and Collegiat Churches, & in the Univerſities, and other Chappels, the benefit whereof, doubtleſſe, all wiſe men will acknowledge to be exceeding great, as well as publique preaching and expounding.

They

They call the dayes of the weeke, beginning at the firſt, ſecond, third, forth, fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh, which is Saturday: the moneths begin at March, by the names of the firſt, ſecond, and ſo forth to the twelfth, which is *February*: becauſe they would *avoid all memory* of heatheniſh and idols *names*: And ſurely it is good to overthrow heatheniſme by all good wayes and meanes. But there hath not been any ſent forth by any Church to learne the Natives language, or to inſtruct them in the Religion; Firſt, becauſe they ſay they have not to do with them being without, unleſſe they come to heare and learn Engliſh. Secondly, ſome ſay out of *Rev.* 15. laſt, it is not probable that anynation more can be converted, til the calling of the Jews; *till the ſeven plagues finiſhed none was able to enter into the Temple*, that is, the Chriſtian Church, and the *ſeventh Viall* is not yet poured forth, and God knowes when it will bee. Thirdly, becauſe all Churches among them are equall, and all Officers equall, and ſo betweene many, nothing is done that way. They muſt all therefore equally beare the blame; for indeede I humbly conceive that by their principles, no Nation can or could ever be converted. Therefore, if ſo, by their principles how can any Nation be governed? They have nothing to excuſe themſelves in this point of not labouring with the Indians to inſtruct them, but their want of a ſtaple trade, and other buſineſſes taking them up. And it is true, this may excuſe *à tanto*.

Dayes and moneths how called.

Neglect of inſtructing the Indians.

Of late ſome Churches are of opinion, that any may

Charity.

may be admitted to Church-fellowſhip, that are not extremely ignorant or ſcandalous: but this they are not very forward to practice, except at *Newberry*. Beſides, many good people ſcruple their Church Covenant, ſo highly tearmed by the moſt of them, a part of the * Covenant of grace; and particularly, one Maſter *Martin* for ſaying in argumentation, that their Church Covenant was an humane invention, and that they will not leave till it came to the ſwords point, was fined ten pounds, his cow taken and ſold for the money. A Miniſter ſtanding upon his Miniſtery, as of the Church of *England*, and arguing againſt their Covenant, and beeing elected by ſome of *Weymouth* to be their Miniſter, was compelled to recant ſome words; one that made the election, & got hands to the paper, was fined 10. pounds, and thereupon ſpeaking a few croſſe words, 5. pound more, and payed it downe preſently; Another of them for ſaying one of the Miniſters of the Bay was a Browniſt, or had a Browniſticall head, and for a ſuppoſed lie, was whipt: and all theſe by the generall or quarter civill Courts.

* The Covenant of Grace of the New Teſtament, it is true, makes the whole univerſall Church of Chriſt, and every part thereof, or at leaſt belongeth thereunto: but allowing Churches a Covenant of Reformation tending to the bett r ordering and well-being of themſelves, and for other politique reſpects, this is as much as they at New-England can juſtly make of their Covenant, and ſome that are judicious among themſelves have acknowledged it: And yet even this, unleſſe it be made and guided by good counſell, and held with dependance and concatenation upon ſome chiefe Church or Churches, may tend to much diviſion and confuſion, as is obvious to the underſtanding of thoſe that are but a little verſed in ſtudy of theſe points.

Touching

Touching the government of the Common-Weale there.

NOne may now be a *Freeman* of that Common-wealth, being a Societie or Corporation, named by the name of the *Governour, Deputy Governour, and Aſſiſtants of the Societie of the Matſachuſets Bay in New-England*, unleſſe he be a Church member amongſt them. None have voice in elections of Governours, Deputy, and Aſſiſtants, none are to be Magiſtrates, Officers, or Jurymen, grand or petite, but *Freemen*. The Miniſters give their votes in all elections of Magiſtrates. Now the moſt of the perſons at *New-England* are not admitted of their Church, and therefore are not *Freemen*, and when they come to be tryed there, be it for life or limb, name or eſtate, or whatſoever, they muſt bee tryed and judged too by thoſe of the Church, who are in a ſort their adverſaries: how equall that hath been, or may be, ſome by experience doe know, others may judge.

Eccleſia regnans.

The manner of the elections is this: At firſt, the chiefe Governour and Magiſtrates were choſen in *London*, by erection of hands, by all the *Free-men* of this *Society*. Since the tranſmitting of the Patent into *New-England*, the election is not by voices, nor erection of hands, but by papers, thus:

Elections of the Governour & chiefe Magiſtrates.

The generall Court-electory ſitting, where are preſent in the Church, or meeting-houſe at *Boſton*,

Boſton, the old Governour, Deputy, and all the Magiſtrates, and two Deputies or Burgeſſes for every towne, or at leaſt one, all the *Freemen* are bidden to come in at one doore, and bring their votes in paper, for the new Governour, and deliver them downe upon the table, before the Court, and ſo to paſſe forth at another doore. Thoſe that are abſent, ſend their votes by proxies. All being delivered in, the votes are counted, and according to the major part, the old Governour pronounceth, that ſuch an one is choſen Governour for the yeare enſuing. Then the *Freemen*, in like manner, bring their votes for the Deputy Governour, who being alſo choſen, the Governour propoundeth the Aſſiſtants one after the other. New Aſſiſtants are, of late, put in nomination, by an order of general Court, beforehand to be conſidered of: If a *Freeman* give in a blanck, that rejects the man named; if the *Freeman* makes any mark with a pen upon the paper which he brings, that elects the man named; then the blancks and marked papers are numbred, and according to the major part of either, the man in nomination ſtands elected or rejected. And ſo for all the Aſſiſtants. And after every new election, which is, by their Patent, to be upon the laſt Wedneſday in every Eaſter Terme, the new Governour and Officers are all new ſworn. The Governour and Aſſiſtants chooſe the Secretary. And all the Court conſiſting of Governour, Deputy, Aſſiſtants, and Deputies of towns, give their votes as well as the reſt; and the *Miniſters*, and

and *Elders*, and all *Church-officers*, have their *votes* alſo in all theſe elections of chiefe Magiſtrates. Conſtables, and all other inferiour Officers, are ſworn in the generall, quarter, or other Courts, or before any Aſſiſtant.

Every *Free-man*, when he is admitted, takes a ſtrict oath, to be true to the Society, or juriſdiction: In which oath, I doe not remember expreſſed that ordinary ſaving, which is and ought to be in all oathes to other Lords, *Saving the faith and truth which I beare to our Soveraigne Lord the King*, though, I hope, it may be implyed. Freemen their oath.

There are two generall Courts, one every halfe yeare, wherein they make Lawes or Ordinances: The Miniſters adviſe in making of Laws, eſpecially Eccleſiaſticall, and are preſent in Courts, and adviſe in ſome ſpeciall cauſes criminall, and in framing of Fundamentall Lawes: But not many Fundamentall Lawes are yet eſtabliſhed: which, when they doe, they muſt, by the words of their Charter, make according to the Laws of *England*, or not contrary thereunto. Here they make taxes and levies. Courts and Laws.

There are beſides foure quarter Courts for the whole Juriſdiction, beſides other petie Courts, one every quarter, at *Boſton*, *Salem*, and *Ipſwich*, with their ſeverall juriſdictions, beſides every towne, almoſt, hath a petie Court for ſmall debts, and treſpaſſes under twenty ſhillings.

In the generall Court, or great quarter Courts, before the Civill Magiſtrates, are tryed all Actions and cauſes.

all actions and cauſes civill and criminall, and alſo Eccleſiaſticall, eſpecially touching non-members: And they themſelves ſay, that in the generall and quarter Courts, they have the power of Parliament, Kings Bench, Common Pleas, Chancery, High Commiſſion, and Star-chamber, and all other Courts of England, and in divers caſes have exerciſed that power upon the Kings Subjects there, as is not difficult to prove. They have put to death, baniſhed, fined men, cut off mens eares, whipt, impriſoned men, and all theſe for Eccleſiaſticall and Civill offences, and without ſufficient record. In the leſſer quarter Courts are tryed, in ſome, actions under ten pound, in *Boſton*, under twenty, and all criminall cauſes not touching life or member. From the petie quarter Courts, or other Court, the parties may appeale to the great quarter Courts, from thence to the generall Court, from which there is no appeale, they ſay: Notwithſtanding, I preſume their Patent doth reſerve and provide for Appeales, in ſome caſes, to the Kings Majeſty.

Grand Juries. The generall and great quarter Courts are kept in the Church meeting-houſe at *Boſton*. Twice a yeare, in the ſaid great quarter Courts held before the generall Courts, are two grand Juries ſworne for the Juriſdiction, one for one Court, and the other for the other, and they are charged to enquire and preſent offences reduced, by the Governour, who gives the charge, moſt anend, under the Heads of the *ten Commandements*:

And

And a draught of a body of fundamentall laws, according to the judiciall Laws of the Jews, hath been contrived by the *Miniſters* and *Magiſtrates*, and offered to the generall Court to be eſtabliſhed and publiſhed to the people to be conſidered of, and this ſince his Majeſties command came to them to ſend over their Patent: Among which Lawes, that was one I excepted againſt, as you may ſee in the paper following, entituled, *Of the Church her liberties, preſented to the Governour and Magiſtrates of the Bay, 4. Martii, 1639.* Notwithſtanding, a by-law, to that or the like effect, hath been made, and was held of force there when I came thence: yet I confeſſe I have heard one of their wiſeſt ſpeak of an intention to repeale the ſame Law.

Matters of debt, treſpaſſe, and upon the caſe, and equity, yea and of hereſie alſo, are tryed by a Jury. Which although it may ſeeme to be indifferent, and the Magiſtrates may judge what is Law, and what is equall, and ſome of the chief Miniſters informe what is hereſie, yet the Jury may finde a generall verdict, if they pleaſe; and ſeldome is there any ſpeciall verdict found by them, with deliberate arguments made thereupon, which breeds many inconveniences. Tryals.

The parties are warned to challenge any Juryman before he be ſworn; but becauſe there is but one Jury in a Court for tryall of cauſes, and all parties not preſent at their ſwearing, the liberty of challenge is much hindred, and ſome inconveniencies doe happen thereby. Jurors are returned

by the Marſhall, he was at firſt called the Bedle of the Societie. Seldome is there any matter of record, ſaving the verdict many times at randome taken and entred, which is alſo called the judgment. And for want of proceeding duly upon record, the government is cleerely arbitrary, according to the diſcretions of the Judges and Magiſtrates for the time being. And humbly I appeale to his royall Majeſty, and his honourable and great Counſell, whether or no the proceedings in ſuch matters as come to be heard before Eccleſiaſticall Judges, be not fit to be upon Record; and whether Regiſters, Advocates, and Procurators, be not neceſſary to aſſiſt the poore and unlearned in their cauſes, and that according to the warrant and intendment of holy Writ, and of right reaſon. I have knowne by experience, and heard divers have ſuffered wrong by default of ſuch in *New-England*. I feare it is not a little degree of pride and dangerous improvidence to ſlight all former lawes of the Church or State, caſes of experience and precedents, to go hammer out new, according to ſeverall exigencies; upon pretence that the Word of God is ſufficient to rule us: It is true, it is ſufficient, if well underſtood. But take heede my brethren, deſpiſe not learning, nor the worthy Lawyers of either gown, leſt you repent too late.

The parties in all cauſes, ſpeake themſelves for the moſt part, and ſome of the Magiſtrates where they thinke cauſe requireth, doe the part of Advocates without fee or reward. Moſt matters

are

are preſently heard, and ended the ſame Court, the party defendant having foure dayes warning before; but ſome cauſes come to be heard again, and new ſuits grow upon the old.

Prophaneneſſe beaten downe.

Profane ſwearing, drunkenneſſe, and beggers, are but rare in the compaſſe of this Patent, through the circumſpection of the Magiſtrates, and the providence of God hitherto, the poore there living by their labours, and great wages, proportionably, better then the rich, by their ſtocks, which without exceeding great care, quickly waſte.

A Paper of certaine Propoſitions to the generall Court, made upon requeſt, 8. Iunii, 1639.

1. IT were good, that all actions betweene parties, were entred in the Court book, by the Secretary, before the Court ſits.

2. That every action be declared in writing, and the defendants anſwer, generall or ſpeciall, as the caſe ſhall require, be put in writing, by a publique Notarie, before the cauſe be heard.

3. The Secretary to take the verdicts, and make forth the judiciall Commands or Writs.

4. The publique Notarie to record all the proceedings in a fair book, and to enter executions of commands done, & ſatisfactions acknowledged.

5. The fees, in all theſe, to be no more then in an inferiour Court of Record in *England*, and to be allowed by the generall Court, or Court of Aſſiſtants.

The benefit hereof to the publique good.

1. IT will give an eaſie and quick diſpatch to all Cauſes: For thereby the Court and Jury will quickly ſee the point in hand, and accordingly give their verdict and judgement.

2. The Court ſhall the better know, conſtantly, how to judge the ſame things; and it is not poſſible, that Judges ſhould, alwayes, from time to time, remember clearly, or know to proceed certainly, without a faithfull Record.

3. The parties may hereby more ſurely, and clearly obtaine their right; for through ignorance and paſſion, men may quickly wrong one another, in their bare words, without a Record.

4. Hereby ſhall the Law of God and Juſtice be duly adminiſtred to the people, according to more certaine and unchangeable rules, ſo that they might know what is the Law, and what right they may look for at the mouthes of all their Judges.

5. Hereby the Subjects have a great part of their evidences and aſſurances for their proprieties, both of lands and goods.

A Paper touching the Church her liberties, delivered at Boſton, 4. *Martii*, 1639.

To the Right Worſhipfull the Governour, Deputy Governour, Councellers, and Aſſiſtants, for this Iuriſdiction.

WHereas you have been pleaſed to cauſe me to tranſcribe certain Breviats of Propoſitions, delivered to the laſt generall Court, for the eſtabliſhing a body of Lawes, as is intended, for the glory of God, and the wel-fare of this People and Country; and publiſhed the ſame, to the intent that any man may acquaint you, or the Deputies for the next Court, with what he conceives fit to be altered or added, in or unto the ſaid lawes; I conceive it my duty to give you timely notice of ſome things of great moment, about the ſame Lawes, in diſcharge of my conſcience, which I ſhall, as *Amicus curiæ*, pray you to preſent with all faithfulneſſe, as is propoſed, to the next generall Court, by it, and the reverend Elders, to be further conſidered of, as followeth:

1. It is propounded to be one chiefe part of the charge, or office of the Councell intended, to take care, that the *converſion* of the *Natives* be endeavoured.

2. It is propoſed, as a liberty, that a convenient* number of Orthodoxe Chriſtians, allowed

* Although ſome have held that three or two may make a Church, yet I have heard Maſter *Cotton* ſay, that a Church could not be without the number of ſixe or ſeaven at leaſt, and ſo was their practiſe while I was there, at *Weymouth*, and *New Taunton*, and at *Lin*, for *Long Iſland*; Becauſe if there are but three, one that is offended with another, cannot upon cauſe tel the Church, but one man.

to

to plant together in this Juriſdiction, may gather themſelves into a Church, and elect and ordaine their Officers, men fit for their places, giving notice to ſeven of the next Churches, one moneth before thereof, and of their names, and that they may exerciſe all the ordinances of God according to his Word, and ſo they proceede according to the rule of God, and ſhall not be hindered by any Civill power; nor will this Court allow of any Church otherwiſe gathered.

This clauſe *(nor will the Court allow of any Church otherwiſe gathered)* doth as I conceive contradict the firſt propoſition.

My reaſons are theſe.

1. If the *converſion of the Natives* muſt be endeavoured, then ſome wiſe and godly men (they ſhould be of your *graveſt and beſt men*) muſt bee ſent forth to teach them to know God.

2. When ſuch are ſent, they muſt bee either ſent immediately by the Lord, or mediately by his Churches.

3. If the Churches ſend men, they that are ſent muſt be ſent by impoſition of *hands of the Presbyterie*.

Now

Now when Churches are thus gathered or planted, they are gathered by Miniſters, doing the works of Apoſtles and Euangeliſts, which hath ever been, and is the ordinary and regular way of gathering or planting Churches, (and not as is propoſed, a convenient number of Orthodoxe Chriſtians, gathering themſelves into a Church) and yet when ſuch a Church is gathered by Church-meſſengers and Miniſters, this Court is adviſed not to allow the ſame; which, I conceive, is to ſay, The converſion of the Natives ſhall not be endeavoured, orderly, according to the rule of God.

Againe, it would be conſidered, that when men are ſent forth, whether they ſhould not be ſent forth *two*, and by *two* at leaſt, as the Scriptures beare, and for divers good reaſons, which lye not hid to your wiſdomes.

That you would be pleaſed to ſhew unto the Elders theſe things to be conſidered, and that they would well weigh, whether or no thoſe Miniſters and Meſſengers ſent by Churches, ſhould not viſit the Churches which they plant?

Other things there are, wherein, I think, I could alſo, to good purpoſe, move ſomewhat to your Worſhips, which lyes more directly in the way, and calling, I have been educated, if I were required, but this thing lying upon my conſcience, *I could not well paſſe by: Wherefore I ſhall requeſt it may be conſidered.*

1. Whether it be not fit to leave out, at leaſt,

that contradictory clauſe, *viz. Nor will this Court allow of any Church otherwiſe gathered?*

2. Whether it be not better to let the liberty run thus, in generall,

The holy Church of God ſhall enjoy all her juſt liberties?

A Paper intended for the honoured John Winthrop, *Eſquire, late Governour. Boſton, Mar.* 2. 1640.

IF you ſee a neceſſity of *baptizing* them without, If an ingagement of *Propagation* of the truth to the Infidel *Natives:*

Then conſider, whether by the Kings leave, ſome Churches may not be appointed to ſend their chiefe Paſtors, and other Miniſters, to doe ſuch works.

Alſo with ſome kind of ſubjection, or acknowledgement of authority of the Miniſterie in *England*, if it be but by way of advice, which is cleare to me you may doe:

I make no doubt but in all things requiſite for the ſtate of the Country, they will yeeld you all faire liberties.

Nay, I am perſwaded, the Kings Majeſty will not ſend any unexperienced Governour to afflict, but make you Patentees againe, or at leaſt, after the manner of other Plantations, reſtoring not onely favour, but other benefits, whereof, under God, to us *Engliſhmen*, he is the Fountaine. The Kings Attorney did offer ſome of you this in my hearing, I meane, the renewall of your Patent.

Nay.

Nay further, if you would invent, and deviſe what the King may doe for the Country, you might obtaine.

The very converſion of theſe poore naked people, which is very hopefull, and much prepared for *per accidens*, or Gods owne providence, bringing good out of evill, will rejoyce the hearts of all Chriſtians in our deare native Countrey, and here: and of it ſelfe (if there were no other deſirable things here, as bleſſed be God there are many) would cauſe a continued confluence of more people then you can tell well where to beſtow for the preſent.

The Fiſhing trade would be promoted with authority.

Hereby would you give the greater teſtimony to the cauſe of Reformation.

Hereby will you, under God and the King, make Church-work, and Common-wealth work indeed, and examples to all Countryes.

You will enrich your Countries both, in ſhort time. The Heathens in time, I am perſwaded, will become zealous Chriſtians, then will they labour, get cloathes, and ſubſtance about them. In vaine doe ſome think of civillizing them, either by the ſword, or otherwiſe, till (withall) the Word of God hath ſpoken to their hearts: wherein I conceive great advice is to be taken.

For which purpoſe a Preſſe is neceſſary, and may be obtained, I hope, ſo that wiſe men watch over it.

Conſider how poorely your Schooles goe on,

you muſt depend upon *England* for help of learned men and Schollers, bookes, commodities infinite almoſt.

No doubt but the King, this way, will make your authority reach even to the Dutch Southward, and to the French Northward. *New-England* indeede without fraction. A facile way, taking out the core of malice.

The converſion and ſubduing of a Nation, and ſo great a tract of ground, is a work too weighty for ſubjects any much longer to labour under without Royall aſſiſtance, as I apprehend, I think, in religious reaſon.

If any ſhall ſuggeſt, that your Churches may ſend forth men of their own authority;

Conſider, if it may be done warrantably by the Word of God, as peradventure it may be ſo.

Yet you will be in danger, *rebus ſic ſtantibus*, of great imputations.

That you infringe *Regall power*,
And Eccleſiaſticall.

Wheron adverſaries will ſure enough make fearfull worke.

And beſides, ſome reformations (under favour) have been too deep, at leaſt for others to follow.

They were alſo unexperienced of miſſion to convert Infidels.

Is *Geneva* without her faults? or *Holland*, *Rotterdam*, *Amſterdam*, without theirs? what experience have they of miſſion, or ever had?

Now I beſeeech you grave Sir, doe you thinke it good, honourable, ſafe, for us poore men here,

or,

or for the Religion and Profeſſors thereof in generall, in the whole world, that ſuch as have the name of the moſt zealous, ſhould be the firſt example of almoſt utmoſt provocation to our owne Soveraigne?

For my part, I diſclaime *Parker*,
And encline to *Hooker*, *Iewel*, as to government.

Great men have great burthens, therefore they have their counſels croſſe, and ſometimes they uſe them both.

You heare enough on the other ſide,

Heare now this, on this, and the Lord guide your ſpirit.

Odere Reges dicta, quæ dici jubent.

Theſe are the Miniſters of the Bay.

AT *Boſton*, maſter *Cotton* Teacher, maſter *Wilſon* Paſtor: At *Roxbury*, maſter *Weld* Paſtor, maſter *Eliott* Teacher: At *Dorcheſter*, maſter *Mather* Paſtor or Teacher, and Maſter *Burgh* out of office: At *Braintree*, Maſter *Thomſon* Paſtor, Maſter *Flint* Teacher: At *Weymouth*, Maſter *Newman* Paſtor, Maſter *Parker* out of office: At *Hingham*, maſter *Hubbard* Paſtor, maſter *Peck* Teacher: They refuſe to baptize old *Ottis* grandchildren, an ancient member of their own Church. At *Charleſtowne*, Maſter *Symms* Paſtor, maſter *Allen* Teacher: At *Cambridge*, maſter *Sheppard* Paſtor, maſter *Dunſter* School-maſter; divers young Schollers are there under him to the number of almoſt twenty: At *Watertowne*, maſter *Phillips* Paſtor, Miniſters names.

Paſtor, maſter *Knolls* Paſtor: At *Dedham*, another maſter *Phillips* out of office, and maſter *Allen* Paſtor or Teacher: At *Sudbury*, maſter *Brown* in office, maſter *Fordham* out of office: At *Lynne*, maſter *Whiting* Paſtor, maſter *Cobbet* Teacher: At *Salem*, maſter *Peter* Paſtor, maſter *Norris* Teacher, and his Sonne a Schoole-maſter: At *Ipſwich*, maſter *Rogers* Paſtor, maſter *Norton* Teacher, and maſter *Nathaniel Ward*, and his ſonne, and one Maſter *Knight*, out of employment: At *Rowley*, Maſter *Ezek. Rogers* Paſtor, Maſter *Miller*: At *Newberry*, Maſter *Noyſe* Paſtor, Maſter *Parker*, Teacher: He is ſonne of Maſter *Robert Parker*, ſometime of *Wilton*, in the County of *Wiltes*, deceaſed, who in his life time writ that miſ-learned and miſtaken Book *De Politeia Eccleſiaſtica*. At *Salisbury*, Maſter *Worſter* Paſtor: At *Hampton*, Maſter *Bachellor* Paſtor, Maſter *Dalton* Teacher: There are other School-maſters which I know not, in ſome of theſe townes.

The Magiſtrates in the Bay *are theſe:*

Magiſtrates names. Maſter *Bellingham* the preſent Governour, maſter *Endecot* the preſent Deputy Governour, maſter *Winthrop*, maſter *Dudley*, maſter *Humfrey*, maſter *Saltonſtall*, maſter *Bradſtreat*, maſter *Stoughton*, maſter *Winthrop junior*, maſter *Nowell*, Aſſiſtants. Maſter *Nowell* is alſo Secretarie. Maſter *Stephen Winthrop* is Recorder, whoſe office is to record all Judgments, Mariages, Births, Deaths, Wills and Teſtaments, Bargaines and Sales, Gifts, Grants, and Mortgages. There is a *Marſhall*, who

who is as a *Sheriffe* or *Bailiffe*, and his Deputy is the *Gaoler* and executioner.

Marriages are ſolemnized and done by the Magiſtrates, and not by the Miniſters. * Probats of Teſtaments, and granting of Letters of Adminiſtration, are made and granted in the generall or great quarter Courts. At Burials, nothing is read, nor any Funeral Sermon made, but all the neighbourhood, or a good company of them, come together by tolling of the bell, and carry the dead ſolemnly to his grave, and there ſtand by him while he is buried. The Miniſters are moſt commonly preſent.

Marriages. Teſtaments. Adminiſtrat. Burials.

*Cauſes touching Matrimonie, and Teſtaments, and other Eccleſiaſticall cauſes, have been anciently by the good lawes of England, committed to the Clergie, upon better grounds then many are aware of. Brethren, I pray conſider well that the Apoſtle doth allow judgements of controverſies to the Church, 1 *Cor.*6. And ſo they did anciently in other Countries, as well as in England, as appeares by S. *Auguſtines* profeſſion thereof, cited by one lately, *viz. That he* (the ſaid Father, and other holy men of the Church) *ſuffered the tumultuous perplexities of other mens cauſes touching ſecular affaires, either by determining them by judging, or in cutting them off by entreaties: which labour* (ſaith he) *we endure with conſolation in the Lord, for the hope of eternall life. To which moleſtations, the Apoſtle tyed us, not by his owne judgement, but by his judgement who ſpake in him.* Beſides, ſhould they judge theſe things, and labour for, and watch over us in the Lord, and not be recompenced as long as they doe well? I ſpeak not to countenance undue exactions, bribes, or other corruptions. I intend brevity, and therefore make bold to refer my Reader to the many learned arguments both in Law-books and Divinity of this ſubject.

They are very diligent in traynings of their ſouldiers and military exerciſes, and all except Magiſtrates, and Miniſters beare armes, or pay for to bee excuſed, or for ſpeciall reaſons are exempted by order of Court. The Captains, and Officers are ſuch as are admitted of the Church.

Trainings or Muſters.

But the people begin to complain, they are ruled like *ſlaves*, and in ſhort time ſhall have their

Grievances.

their children for the moſt part remain unbaptized: and ſo have little more priviledge then Heathens, unleſſe the diſcipline be amended and moderated.

Danger.

It is feared, that Elections cannot be ſafe there long, either in Church or Common-wealth. So that ſome melancholy men thinke it a great deale ſafer to be in the midſt of troubles in a ſetled Common-wealth, or in hope eaſily to be ſetled, then in mutinies there, ſo far off from ſuccours.

New Plymouth Patent.
M. *Rayner.*
M. *Smith.*
M. *Chancey* his controverſie.

At *New Plymouth* they have but one * Miniſter, maſter *Rayner*; yet maſter *Chancey* lives there, and one maſter *Smith*, both Miniſters, they are not in any office there; maſter *Chancey* ſtands for dipping in baptiſme onely neceſſary, and ſome other things, concerning which there hath been much diſpute, and maſter *Chancey* put to the worſt by the opinion of the Churches adviſed withall.

* Eccleſ. 12. 11. *One ſhepheard:* James 3. 1. *Not many maſters.*

Whether this be their ground, I know not; but what ever there be in others to adviſe and aſſiſt, the deciding, determining voice, I meane alſo the negative, in ſome caſes, ought, as I think, to be in the Paſtor: Be there never ſo many Miniſters in the Church, *Doe nothing without your Paſtor or Biſhop*, ſaith *Irenæus*: for whatſoever is faulty in the Church, the Biſhop is firſt and principally blamed, *Rev.* 2. and 3.

Taunton.
M. *Hooke,*
M. *Streate,* their ordination.

Cohannet, alias *Taunton*, is in *Plymouth* Patent. There is a Church gathered of late, and ſome ten or twenty of the Church, the reſt excluded. Maſter *Hooke* Paſtor, maſter *Streate* Teacher. Maſter *Hooke* received ordination from the hands of one maſter *Biſhop* a School-maſter, and one *Parker* an Husbandman, and then maſter *Hooke* joyned in ordaining maſter *Streate*. One maſter *Doughty*, a Miniſter, oppoſed the gathering of the

M. *Doughty* his controverſie.

Church

Church there, alleadging that according to the Covenant of *Abraham*, all mens children that were of baptized parents, and ſo *Abrahams* children, ought to be baptized; and ſpake ſo in publique, or to that effect, which was held a diſturbance, and the Miniſters ſpake to the Magiſtrate to order him: The Magiſtrate commanded the Conſtable, who dragged maſter *Doughty* out of the Aſſembly. He was forced to goe away from thence, with his wife and children.

There are alſo in this Patent divers other Plantations, as *Sandwich*, *Situate*, *Duxbury*, *Greenesharbour*, and *Yarmouth*. Miniſters there are, maſter *Leveridge*, maſter *Blackwood*, maſter *Mathews*, and maſter *Andrew Hallet* a School-maſter. Maſter *Saxton* alſo, who was comming away when we did. Divers other Towns and Miniſters.

At the Iſland called *Aquedney*, are about two hundred families. There was a Church, where one maſter *Clark* was Elder: The place where the Church was, is called *Newport*, but that Church, I heare, is now diſſolved; as alſo divers Churches in the Country have been broken up and diſſolved through diſſention. At the other end of the Iſland there is another towne called *Portſmouth*, but no Church: there is a meeting of ſome men, who there teach one another, and call it Propheſie. Theſe of the Iſland have a pretended civill government of their owne erection, without the Kings Patent. There lately they whipt one maſter *Gorton*, a grave man, for denying their power, and abuſing ſome of their Magiſtrates Iſland *Aquedney*. Maſter *Gorton* whipt and baniſhed.

ſtrates with uncivill tearmes; the Governour, maſter *Coddington*, ſaying in Court, *You that are for the King, lay hold on Gorton*; and he againe, on the other ſide, called forth, *All you that are for the King, lay hold on Coddington*; whereupon *Gorton* was baniſhed the Iſland: ſo with his wife and children he went to *Providence*. They began about a ſmall treſpaſſe of ſwine, but it is thought ſome other matter was ingredient.

New Providence. At *Providence*, which is twenty miles from the ſaid Iſland, lives maſter *Williams*, and his company, of divers opinions; moſt are Anabaptiſts; they hold there is no true viſible Church in the *Bay*, nor in the world, nor any true Miniſterie. This is within no Patent, as they ſay; but they have of late a kind of government alſo of their owne erection.

M. Blakeſton. One maſter *Blakeſton*, a Miniſter, went from *Boſton*, having lived there nine or ten yeares, becauſe he would not joyne with the Church; he lives neere maſter *Williams*, but is far from his opinions.

Connecticot. There are five or ſix townes, and Churches upon the River *Connecticot*, where are worthy maſter *Hooker*, maſter *Warham*, maſter *Hewet*, and divers others, and maſter *Fenwike* with the Lady *Boteler*, at the rivers mouth in a faire houſe, and well fortified, and one maſter *Higgiſon*, a young man, their Chaplain. Theſe plantations have a Patent; the Lady was lately admitted of maſter *Hookers* Church, and thereupon her child was baptized.

Lad. Boteler.

The

The Lady *Moody* lives at *Lynne*; but is of *Salem* Church, ſhee is (good Lady) almoſt undone by buying maſter *Humphries* farme, *Swampſcot*, which coſt her nine, or eleven hundred pounds. Lady *Moody*.

Beyond *Connecticott* are divers plantations, as *New-haven*, alias *Quinapeag*, where maſter *Davenport* is Paſtor, and one maſter *Iames* a Schoole-maſter; and another where maſter *Whitfield* is: and another where maſter *Pridgeon* is, and ſome others, almoſt reaching to the Dutch plantation ſouthward. Among theſe are my old acquaintance, maſter *Roger Ludlow*, maſter *Froſt*, ſometime of *Nottingham*, and his ſonnes, *Iohn Grey* and *Henry Grey*; the Lord in his goodneſſe provide for them; they have a Miniſter, whoſe name I have forgotten, if it be not maſter *Blackwell*. I do not know what Patent theſe have. *New Haven*.

Long Iſland is begun to be planted, and ſome two Miniſters are gone thither, or to goe, as one maſter *Peirſon*, and maſter *Knowles*, that was at *Dover*, *alias Northam*. A Church was gathered for that Iſland at *Lynne*, in the *Bay*, whence ſome, by reaſon of ſtraitneſſe, did remove to the ſaid Iſland; and one maſter *Simonds*, heretofore a ſervant unto a good gentlewoman whom I know, was one of the firſt Founders. Maſter *Peter* of *Salem* was at the gathering, and told me the ſaid maſter *Henry Simonds* made a very cleare confeſſion. Notwithſtanding he yet dwels at *Boſton*, and they proceed on but ſlowly. The Patent is granted to the Lord *Starling*; but the *Dutch* claime part of the Iſland, or the whole: for their plan- *Long Iſland*.

tation is right over againſt, and not far from the South end of the ſaid Iſle. And one Lieutenant *Howe* pulling downe the Dutch Arms on the Iſle, there was like to be a great ſtir, what ever may become of it. The Dutch alſo claime *Quinapeag*, and other parts.

Paſcattaqua. At *Northam*, alias *Paſcattaqua*, is maſter *Larkham* Paſtor. One maſter *H. K.* was alſo lately Miniſter there, with maſter *Larkham*. They two fell out about baptizing children, receiving of members, buriall of the dead; and the contention was ſo ſharp, that maſter *K.* and his party roſe up, and excommunicated maſter *Larkham*, and ſome that held with him: And further, maſter *Larkham* flying to the Magiſtrates, maſter *K.* and a Captaine raiſed Armes; and expected helpe from the *Bay*; maſter *K.* going before the troop with a Bible upon a poles top, and he, or ſome of his party giving forth, that their ſide were *Scots*, and the other *Engliſh*: Whereupon the Gentlemen of Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* plantation came in, and kept Court with the Magiſtrates of *Paſcattaqua*, (who have alſo a Patent) being weake of themſelves. And they fined all thoſe that were in Armes, for a Riot, by Indictment, Jury, and Verdict, formally. Nine of them were cenſured to be whipt, but that was ſpared. Maſter *K.* and the *Captain* their leaders, were fined 100*l.* a piece, which they are not able to pay. To this broyle came maſter *Peter* of *Salem*, and there gave his opinion, at *Northam*, that the ſaid excommunication was a nullity.

M. Larkham excommunicated.

A broyle or riot.

Epiſcopacie.

Maſter

Maſter *Thomas Gorgs* ſonne of *Captain Gorgs* of *Batcombe*, by *Chedder* in *Somerſetſhire*, is principall Commiſſioner for the *Province of Maigne*, under Sir *Ferdinando*, but he was not at that Court at *Northham* himſelfe. Maſter *Wards* ſonne is deſired to come into the *Province of Maigne*. There is one maſter *Ienner* gone thither of late. There is want of good Miniſters there; the place hath had an ill report by ſome, but of late ſome good acts of Juſtice have been done there, and divers Gentlemen there are, and it is a Countrey very plentifull for fiſh, fowle, and veniſon. Province of *Maigne*.

Not farre from *Northam* is a place called *Exeter*, where maſter *Wheelwright* hath a ſmall Church. *Exeter*.

And at *Cape Anne*, where fiſhing is ſet forward, and ſome ſtages builded, there one maſter *Raſhley* is Chaplain: for it is farre off from any Church: *Raſhley* is admitted of *Boſton* Church, but the place lyeth next *Salem*, and not very far further from *Ipſwich*. *Cape Anne*, Fiſhing.

The *Iſle* of *Shoales* and *Richmonds Iſle*, which lie neere *Paſquattaqua*, and good fiſhing places. Iſles of *Shoales* and *Richmond*.

About one hundred and fifty leagues from *Boſton* Eaſtward is the *Iſle of Sables*, whither one *John Webb*, alias *Evered*, an active man, with his company are gone with commiſſion from the *Bay*, to get Sea-horſe teeth and oyle. Iſle of *Sables*.

Eaſtward off *Cape Codd* lyeth an Iſland called *Martins Vineyard*, uninhabited by any Engliſh, but Indians, which are very ſavage. *Martins* Vineyard.

French and Dutch.

Northward from the *Bay*, or Northeaſt, lyeth the *French* plantation, who take up bever there, and keepe ſtrict government, boarding all veſſels that come neare them, and binding the maſters till the governour, who is a Noble-man, know what they are; and ſouth of *New-England* the *Dutch* take up the bever.

Virginia.

Three hundred Leagues ſouth from the *Bay* along the coaſts, lyeth *Virginia*; neare to that is

Maryland.

Maryland, where they are Roman Catholiques, they ſay.

Swedes.

There was a ſpeech of ſome *Swedes* which came to inhabit neere *Delawar Bay*, but the number or certainty I know not.

New-found-land.

Three hundred leagues from the *Bay*, Eaſtward, lyeth *New-found-land*, where is a maine trade for fiſhing. Here we touched comming homeward.

Florida.

Florida lyes betweene *Virginia* and the *Bay* of *Mexico*, and had been a better Country for the *Engliſh* to have planted in, according to the opinion of ſome, but it is ſo neere the *Spaniard*, that none muſt undertake to plant there, without good Forces.

For

For the ſtate of the Country in the Bay *and thereabouts.*

THe Land is reaſonable fruitfull, as I think; they have cattle, and goats, and ſwine good ſtore, and ſome horſes, ſtore of fiſh and fowle, veniſon, and * corne, both *Engliſh* and *Indian*. They are indifferently well able to ſubſiſt for victuall. They are ſetting on the manufacture of linnen and cotton cloath, and the fiſhing trade, and they are building of ſhips, and have good ſtore of barks, catches, lighters, ſhallops, and other veſſels. They have builded and planted to admiration for the time. There are good maſts and timber for ſhipping, planks, and boards, clapboard, pipe-ſtaves, bever, and furres, and hope of ſome mines. There are Beares, Wolves, and Foxes, and many other wilde beaſts, as the Mooſe, a kind of Deere, as big as ſome Oxen, and Lyons, as I have heard. The Wolves and Foxes are a great annoyance. There are Rattle-ſnakes, which ſometimes doe ſome harme, not much; He that is ſtung with any of them, or bitten, he turnes of the colour of the Snake, all over his body, blew, white, and greene ſpotted, and ſwelling, dyes, unleſſe he timely get ſome Snake-weed; which if he eate, and rub on the wound, he may haply recover, but feele it a long while in his bones and body. Money is wanting, by reaſon of the failing of paſſengers theſe two laſt yeares, in a manner. They want help to goe forward

State of the Countrey of *New-England*.

* Wheat and Barley are thought not to be ſo good as thoſe grains in *England*; but the Rye and Peaſe are as good as the Engliſh: the Peaſe have no wormes at all. Beanes alſo there are very good.

forward, for their ſubſiſtance in regard of cloathing: And great pity it would be, but men of eſtates ſhould help them forward. It may bee, I hope, a charitable worke. The price of their cattell, and other things being fallen, they are not at preſent able to make ſuch returns to *England*, as were to be wiſhed for them: God above direct and provide for them. There are multitudes of godly men among them, and many poore ignorant ſoules. Of late ſome thirty perſons went in two ſmall Barks for the *Lords Iſle of Providence*, and for the Maine thereabout, which is held to be a beter countrey and climate by ſome: For this being in about 46. degrees of northerne latitude, yet is very cold in winter, ſo that ſome are frozen to death, or loſe their fingers or toes every yeere, ſometimes by carleſnes, ſometimes by accidents, and are loſt in ſnowes, which there are very deepe ſometimes, and lye long: Winter begins in October, and laſts till Aprill. Sixty leagues Northerly it is held not habitable, yet again in Summer it is exceeding hot. If ſhipping for conveyance were ſent thither, they might ſpare divers hundreds of men for any good deſign. The juriſdiction of the *Bay* Patent reacheth from *Paſcattaqua* Patent Northeaſt to *Plymouth* Patent Southward. And in my travailes there, I have ſeene the towns of *Newberry*, *Ipſwich*, *Salem*, *Lynne*, *Boſton*, *Charleſtowne*, *Cambridge*, *Watertowne*, *Concord*, *Roxbury*, *Dorcheſter*, and *Braintree* in the *Bay* Patent, *New Taunton* in *Plymouth* Patent, the Iſland *Aquedney*, and the two townes therein,

Newport

Newport and *Portſmouth*, and *New Providence* within the *Bay* of *Narhigganſets*. This for the ſatisfaction of ſome that have reported I was no Travailer in *New-England*.

Concerning the Indians, *or Natives.*

THey are of body tall, proper, and ſtraight; they goe naked, ſaving about their middle, ſomewhat to cover ſhame. Seldome they are abroad in extremity of Winter, but keep in their *wigwams*, till neceſſity drives them forth; and then they wrap themſelves in skins, or ſome of our Engliſh coorſe cloth: and for the Winter they have boots, or a kind of laced tawed-leather ſtockins. They are naturally proud, and idle, given much to ſinging, dancing, and playes; they are governed by *Sachems*, Kings; and *Saggamores*, petie Lords; by an abſolute tyrannie. Their women are of comely feature, induſtrious, and doe moſt of the labour in planting, and carrying of burdens; their husbands hold them in great ſlavery, yet never knowing other, it is the leſſe grievous to them. They ſay, *Engliſhman* much foole, for ſpoiling goodworking creatures, meaning women: And when they ſee any of our *Engliſh* women ſewing with their needles, or working coifes, or ſuch things, they will cry out, Lazie *ſquaes!* but they are much the kinder to their wives, by the example of the *Engliſh*. Their children, they will not part with, upon any terms, to be taught. They are of complexion ſwarthy and tawny;

Of the *Indians.*

their children are borne white, but they bedawbe them with oyle, and colours, presently. They have all black haire, that I saw.

In times of mourning, they paint their faces with black lead, black, all about the eye-brows, and part of their cheeks. In time of rejoycing, they paint red, with a kind of vermilion. They cut their haire of divers formes, according to their Nation or people, so that you may know a people by their cut; and ever they have a long lock on one side of their heads, and weare feathers of Peacocks, and such like, and red cloath, or ribbands at their locks; beads of *wampompeag* about their necks, and a girdle of the same, wrought with blew and white *wampom*, after the manner of chequer work, two fingers broad, about their loynes: Some of their chiefe men goe so, and pendants of *wampom*, and such toyes in their ears. And their women, some of the chiefe, have faire bracelets, and chaines of *wampom*. Men and women, of them, come confidently among the *English*. Since the *Pequid* war, they are kept in very good subjection, and held to strict points of Justice, so that the *English* may travail safely among them. But the *French* in the East, and the *Dutch* in the South, sell them guns, powder and shot. They have *Powahes*, or Priests, which are Witches, and a kind of Chirurgions, but some of them, notwithstanding, are faine to be beholding to the *English* Chirurgions. They will have their times of *powaheing*, which they will, of late, have called Prayers, according to the *English* word. The

Powahe

Powahe labours himſelfe in his incantations, to extreame ſweating and wearineſſe, even to extaſie. The *Powahes* cannot work their witchcrafts, if any of the *Engliſh* be by; neither can any of their incantations lay hold on, or doe any harme to the *Engliſh*, as I have been credibly informed. The *Powahe* is next the King, or *Sachem*, and commonly when he dyes, the *Powahe* marryes the *Squa Sachem*, that is, the queene. They have marriages among them; they have many wives; they ſay, they commit much filthineſſe among themſelves. But for every marriage, the *Saggamore* hath a fadome of *wampom*, which is about ſeven or eight ſhillings value. Some of them will diligently attend to any thing they can underſtand by any of our Religion, and are very willing to teach their language to any *Engliſh*. They live much the better, and peaceably, for the *Engliſh*; and themſelves know it, or at leaſt their *Sachems*, and *Saggamores* know ſo much, for before they did nothing but ſpoile and deſtroy one another. They live in *Wigwams*, or houſes made of mats like little hutts, the fire in the midſt of the houſe. They cut downe a tree with axes and hatchets, bought of the *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, or *French*, & bring in the butt-end into the *wigwam*, upon the hearth, and ſo burne it by degrees. They live upon parched corne, (of late, they grinde at our *Engliſh* mills.) Veniſon, Bevers, Otters, Oyſters, Clammes, Lobſters, and other fiſh, Groundnuts, Akornes, they boyle all together in a kettle. Their riches are their *wampom*, bolles, trayes,

kettles, and ſpoones, bever, furres, and canoos. He is a *Sachem*, whoſe wife hath her cleane ſpoons in a cheſt, for ſome chief *Engliſh* men, when they come on gueſt wiſe to the *wigwam*. They lye upon a mat, with a ſtone, or a piece of wood under their heads; they will give the beſt entertainment they can make to any *Engliſh* comming amongſt them. They will not taſte ſweet things, nor alter their habit willingly; onely they are taken with tobacco, wine, and ſtrong waters; and I have ſeene ſome of them in *Engliſh*, or *French* cloathes. Their ordinary weapons are bowes and arrowes, and long ſtaves, or halfe pykes, with pieces of ſwords, daggers, or knives in the ends of them: They have Captaines, and are very good at a ſhort mark, and nimble of foot to run away. Their manner of fighting is, moſt commonly, all in one fyle. They are many in number, and worſhip *Kitan*, their good god, or *Hobbamocco*, their evill god; but more feare *Hobbamocco*, becauſe he doth them moſt harme. Some of their Kings names are *Canonicus*, *Meantinomy*, *Owſhamequin*, *Cuſhamequin*, *Webbacowitts*, and *Squa Sachem* his wife: She is the Queene, and he is *Powahe*, and King, in right of his wife. Among ſome of theſe Nations, their policie is to have two Kings at a time; but, I thinke, of one family; the one aged for counſell, the other younger for action. Their Kings ſucceed by inheritance.

M. Dunſter a hopefull Schoolmaſter.

Maſter *Henry Dunſter*, Schoolmaſter of *Cambridge*, deſerves commendations above many; he hath

hath the plat-forme and way of converſion of the Natives, indifferent right, and much ſtudies the ſame, wherein yet he wants not oppoſition, as ſome other alſo have met with: He will, without doubt, prove an inſtrument of much good in the Countrey, being a good Scholar, and having skil in the Tongues; He will make it good, that the way to inſtruct the *Indians*, muſt be in their *owne* language, not *Engliſh*; and that their language may be perfected.

A *Note of ſome late occurrences touching Epiſcopacie.*

Some late occurrences concerning Epiſcopacie.

SOme of the learneſt, and godlieſt in the *Bay*, begin to underſtand Governments; that it is neceſſary, when Miniſters or People fall out, to ſend other Miniſters, or they voluntarily to goe among them, to ſeek by all good wayes and meanes to appeaſe them.

And particularly, Maſter *Peter* went from *Salem* on foot to *New Dover*, alias *Paſcattaqua*, alias *Northam*, to appeaſe the difference betweene Maſter *Larkham* and Maſter *K.* when they had been up in Armes this laſt Winter time. He went by the ſending of the *Governour*, *Counſell*, and *Aſſiſtants* of the *Bay*, and of the Church of *Salem*, and was in much danger of being loſt, returning, by loſing his way in the woods, and ſome with him, but God be bleſſed they returned.

Againe he went a ſecond time, for appeaſing

the ſame difference, and had a Commiſſion to divers Gentlemen, maſter *Humfrey*, maſter *Bradſtreate*, Captaine *Wiggon*, and maſter *Simons*, to aſſiſt, and to heare and determine all cauſes civill and criminall, from the *Governour of the Bay*, under his hand, and the publique ſeale, and then maſter *K.* went by the worſt.

Maſter *Wilſon* did lately ride to *Greens harbour*, in *Plymouth* Patent, to appeaſe a broyle betweene one maſter *Thomas*, as I take it, his name is, and maſter *Blindman*, where maſter *Blindman* went by the worſt, and Captaine *Keayne* and others went with maſter *Wilſon* on horſeback.

Alſo at another time, maſter *Wilſon*, maſter *Mather*, and ſome others, going to the ordination of maſter *Hooke* and maſter *Streate*, to give them the right hand of fellowſhip, at *New Taunton*, there heard the difference betweene maſter *Hooke* and maſter *Doughty*, where maſter *Doughty* was overruled, and the matter carried ſomewhat partially, as is reported.

It may be, it will be ſaid, they did theſe things by way of love, and friendly adviſe: Grant that; But were not the counſelled bound to receive good counſell? If they would not receive it, was not the Magiſtrate ready to *aſſiſt*, and in a manner ready, according to duty, to *enforce* peace and obedience? did not the Magiſtrates *aſſiſt*? and was not maſter *K.* ſent away, or compounded with, to ſeek a new place at *Long Iſland*, maſter *Doughty* forced to the Iſland *Aquedney*, and maſter *Blindman* to *Connecticot*?

Queſtions

Queſtions to the Elders of Boſton, *delivered 9. Septemb.* 1640.

1. WHether a people may gather themſelves into a Church, without a Miniſter *ſent* of God?

2. Whether any People, or Congregation, may *ordaine* their owne Officers?

3. Whether the Ordination, by the hands of ſuch as are *not Miniſters*, be good?

To the which I received an Anſwer the ſame day:

TO the firſt, the Anſwer is affirmative; for though the people in this Countrey are not wont to gather themſelves into a Church, but (as you would have it) with the preſence and advice of ſundry Miniſters; yet it were lawfull for them to gather into a Church without them. For if it be the priviledge of every Church to chooſe their owne Miniſters, then there may be a Church, before they have Miniſters of their owne; for Miniſters of another Church have no power but in their owne Church.

To the ſecond and third; The ſecond and third *Queſtions* are coincident, and one Anſwer may ſerve for both: The Children of *Iſrael* did impoſe hands upon the *Levites*, *Num.*8. 10. and if the people have power to elect their owne officers, they have power alſo to ordaine them; for Ordination is but an Inſtallment of a man into that office,

office, whereto election giveth him right, nevertheleſſe ſuch a Church as hath a *Presbyterie*, ought to ordain their Officers by a *Presbyterie*, according to 1 *Tim.*4.14.

This Anſwer was brought me by Maſter Oliver, *one of the Elders, and Maſter* Pierce, *a Brother of* Boſton.

When I was to come away, one of the chiefeſt in the Country wiſhed me to deliver him a note of what things I miſliked in the Country, which I did, thus:

I doubt,

1. WHether ſo much time ſhould be ſpent in the publique Ordinances, on the Sabbath day, becauſe that thereby ſome neceſſary duties of the Sabbath muſt needs be hindred, as viſitation of the ſick, and poore, and family.

2. Whether matters of offence ſhould be publiquely handled, either before the whole Church, or ſtrangers.

3. Whether ſo much time ſhould be ſpent in particular catechizing thoſe that are admitted to the communion of the Church, either men or women; or that they ſhould make long ſpeeches; or when they come publiquely to be admitted, any ſhould ſpeak contradictorily, or in recommendation of any, unleſſe before the Elders, upon juſt occaſion.

4. Whether the cenſures of the Church ſhould be ordered, in publique, before all the Church, or ſtrangers, other then the denunciation of the

the cenſures, and pronunciation of the ſolutions.

5. Whether any of our *Nation* that is not extremely ignorant or ſcandalous, ſhould bee kept from the Communion, or his children from *Baptiſme.*

6. That many thouſands in this Countrey have forgotten the very principles of Religion, which they were daily taught in *England*, by ſet forms and Scriptures read, as the Pſalmes, firſt and ſecond Leſſon, the ten Commandments, the Creeds, and publique catechizings. And although conceived Prayer be good and holy, and ſo publike explications and applications of the Word, and alſo neceſſary both in and out of ſeaſon: yet for the moſt part it may be feared they dull, amaze, confound, diſcourage the weake and ignorant, (which are the moſt of men) when they are in ordinary performed too tediouſly, or with the neglect of the Word read, and other premeditated formes inculcated, and may tend to more ignorance and inconvenience, then many good men are aware of.

7. I doubt there hath been, and is much neglect of endeavours, to teach, civilize, and convert the *Indian Nation*, that are about the Plantations.

8. Whether by the received principles, it bee *poſsible* to teach, civilize, or convert them, or when they are converted, to maintain Gods worſhip among them.

9. That electorie courſes will not long be ſafe here, either in Church or Common-wealth.

10. That the civill government is not so equally administred, nor can be, divers orders or by-laws considered.

11. That unlesse these things be wisely and in time prevented, many of your usefullest men will remove and scatter from you.

At *Boston* July 5. 1641.

Certain Quæres about Church government, planting Churches, and some other Experiments.

1. WHether the people should cal the Minister, or the Minister[a] gather the people?

2. When a Church is gathered or planted, should they not have care in[b] propagating other Churches, in other places next them?

3. Whether should not the first Church[c] visit the later Churches planted by them, to see they keepe the faith and order, as long as shee remains her selfe in purity of Doctrine and worship?

4. How shall a Church propagate, and visit other Churches? shall they do it by their members, ordinary Christians, or by their[d] Ministers, or Pastors? shall they[e] intend such propagation, or stay, till by their numbers increasing, they are necessitated to swarme, or are persecuted abroad?

5. If by their Pastors, must there not bee more[f] Ministers then one in the first Church? how else can any be spared to goe abroad about such works upon occasion?

6. When they have planted other Churches, must

a Mar. 10. 1. Mar. 3. 13. Act. 1. 4 & 2. 47. & 8. 5. 6. & 9. 32, 35. & 11. 19. 20. 21. 26.

b Acts 8. 14. & 9. 31. & 11. 22. 27. & 15 2. 3. & 14. 21. to 28.

c Col. 2. 5. Act. 11. 27. & 15. 36. & 16. 4.

d Acts 8. 5. 14. & 11. 22, 27. & 13. 2, 3.

e Mat. 28. 19. Acts 13. 1, 2, 3. & 8. 1. 4

f Acts 1. 2, 3, 4. & 2. 47 & 13. 1

must not the [g] first Church take care for the providing of Elders or Miniſters for theſe new planted Churches, and [h] ordain them, and ſometimes goe [i] or ſend ſome to teach them, and uphold the worſhip of God among them?

7. How can any preach, unleſſe he be [k] ſent? and how can he be ſent, unleſſe by impoſition of [l] hands of the Presbytery of the firſt Church?

8. If ſo, hath not the firſt Church and the Miniſters therof, Apoſtlolical [m] power in theſe things?

9. But have all [n] Churches and Miniſters this power? are they able? have they learned men enough, to [o] water where they have planted? If ſome ſhould not be of the [p] *Quorum*, as it were, in ordinations, and the like, what order, peace, or unity can be expected?

10. Againe, if all Churches and Miniſters have this power, equally, to exerciſe the work Apoſtolicall, muſt they not all then goe, or ſend abroad, to convert the Indians, and plant Churches? and how can all be ſpared abroad? Are all [q] Apoſtles? all Euangeliſts? where were the body, if ſo?

11. Will they not interfiere one upon another, and treſpaſſe upon one anothers [r] line, rule, or portion, which bleſſed S. *Paul* condemned in thoſe that entred into his labours?

12. When any other [s] Church, beſides the [t] firſt, hath power and ability to propagate and bring forth other Churches, may ſhe not doe well ſo to doe? muſt ſhe not? in her fitting line, obſerving peace, and holding communion with

[g] Act. 1. 25, 26.
[h] Act. 6. 6. & 14. 23.
[i] Act. 8. 14. & 11. 22.
[k] Rom. 10. 15.
[l] Act. 6. 6. & 13. 3. 1 Tim. 4. 14.
[m] Eph. 4. 11. Act. 1. 25. & 8. 14. & 11. 22. 27.
[n] Rom. 16. 1.
[o] 1 Cor. 3. 6.
[p] 2 Tim. 1. 6. 1 Tim. 4. 14. compared.
[q] 1 Cor. 12. 19, 29.
[r] 2 Cor. 10. 12. to the end.
[s] Act. 13. 1, 2, 3.
[t] Act. 1. 4. & 2. 47.

the first, as long as they remain in purity both of them? and if a second, why not a third, and a fourth, and so forth to a competent number?

13. Whether the first and other Churches also having power and ability thus to propagate the Gospell and plant Churches, may not be fitly called, prime, chief, or principall seats of the Church, or [v] chiefe Churches?

v As *Hierusalem, Antioch, Ephesus*, Acts 11. 26.

14. Whether those Churches so gathered, in one Kingdome, Citie, or Principality, holding communion together, may not be fitly, in regard of their unity in Doctrine and worship, called the Church of such a Nation, or Province, [u] City, or Countrey?

u Acts 11. 22.

15. Whether is it probable, that the first Church Christian, that wee reade of to be, at [x] *Hierusalem*, was onely one congregation, or but as many as could meete in one place? had they not among them twelve Apostles, besides Elders, three thousand, at once added, what ever number there was besides? and had they such a large Temple or meeting-houses at their command in those dayes?

x Acts 1. 4, 15, 26. & 2. 41.

16. Whether the word *Church* bee not diversly taken in holy Scripture, and sometimes for a civill or uncivill assembly or congression? [y] *Acts* 19. 40. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, and when he had thus spoken, he dismissed the assembly or Church?

y Act. 19. 40.

Euzheib. N.B. 17. Whether anciently in *England*, some small assemblyes were not called Churches, as every pre-

preſentative Rectory or Parſonage is called *Eccleſia*, when others that were greater were not ſo called, as no Vicaridge, Donative or Chappel is called *Eccleſia* in our Law?

18. Whether the Rector, or Parſon that is a Presbyter in a Church, ſhould, being alone, rule abſolutely by himſelfe, without the concurrence, adviſe, or ſuperiour power of the Evangeliſticall [z] Paſtor of the Church, who had care in the plantation or erection of the Parſons Church? [z] 1 Cor. 5. 3, 4.

19. If not; ſhould the Vicar, Donative, Miniſter or Chaplain?

20. But where they have uſed to rule more abſolutely, (as in ſome peculiar juriſdictions in *England*) why may they not with the peace and unity of the Church, and by good adviſe, ſtil doe the ſame alway, with ſubordination to the Evangeliſticall leaders, and fit Chriſtian, and Nationall Synods?

21. If the Parſon ſhould not rule alone ordinarily, why ſhould the principall leaders rule ordinarily alone without the adviſe and aſſiſtance of a competent number of their Preſbyters, who may afford them counſell? Did not the holy Apoſtles adviſe with the Elders [a] ſometimes? is it ſafe for them or the whole? [a] Acts 15. 6.

22. But were there any Biſhops ſuperintendent, over other Biſhops, or Presbyters, in the firſt hundred years after Chriſts birth? Did not Saint *James* write his Generall Epiſtle to the twelve *Objection.*

Tribes, which were then ſcattered abroad, no doubt, in many places, and therein mention for Rulers, onely [b] Elders? and S. *Peter* write his generall Epiſtle, and therein direct or command the [c] Elders, not to over-rule the flock, the Lords inheritance? where was the Order of Biſhops? had not the Elders the rule? might they not elſe have returned anſwer, that the command concerned not them, but a certaine Order of men, called Biſhops, above us?

[b] Iames 5.14.
[c] 1 Pet. 5. 1,2,3

Anſwer.

23. Were not the Apoſtles and Euangeliſts then living, [d] Biſhops, and ſuperintendent overſeers? had they not the [e] care of all the Churches, in their lines? did not theſe holy Apoſtles, S. *Iames* and S. *Peter*, mention their owne names, in their Epiſtles? is it not plain, that *Peter* had over-ſight upon thoſe to whom he wrote, to ſee that they did not over-rule, and take account of them, if they did? And did the Lord ordaine there ſhould be ſuch a ſuperintendencie, onely for an 80. years, and not ſome equall correſpondent ſuperſpection alſo in after-ages, when thoſe extraordinary men ſhould ceaſe? If ſome had then the care of all the Churches, ſhould there not be ſome, in after-times, to have the care of ſome, to a competent number of Churches, in their fitting lines, and as they are [f] able? And though this Divine right be broken through the many groſſe corruptions of ſucceſſions, and thelike, yet is it not equall to obſerve the firſt Inſtitution, as neere as may be, as we ſay the equity of ſome Lawes and Statutes among us is ſometimes to be obſerved, though not

[d] Acts 1.20.
[e] 2 Cor. 11.28. & Chap. 10. 12 to the end.
[f] 2 Cor. 8.12.

not in the Letter? And why may not a chiefe Paſtor be called a Biſhop, as well as an Elder, or any other officer heretofore ſuperiour?

24. If g Pſalms, and Hymnes, and ſpirituall ſongs are to be ſung in the Church, and to ſing melodiouſly, and with good harmony, is the gift of God, and uncomely ſinging a kind of ſin in the holy Aſſemblies; why ſhould not the chiefe leaders, and rulers of the Church, appoint ſome, in their ſtead, to take care of the ſingings of the Church? and may not ſome be fitter to lead in ſinging, then others? and leſt they may fall out of their tunes to jarring, why may they not uſe the help of ſome muſicall inſtruments? and leſt they ſhould want able men this way, why ſhould they not take care, that ſome children be trained up in Muſique?

g Eph. 5. 19. 1 Cor. 14. 26. 40

25. Whether or no Chriſt did not allow of a h form of Prayer, and a ſhort one too? will not the i ſtrong allow the weak helps in Prayer? are not the beſt Chriſtians often diſtracted in long Prayers? is it not eaſier for the ſtrong to pray, then for as ſtrong men to hear Prayer well? ſhould thoſe that are ſtrong Proficients in grace not be ſatisfied, without all their weak brethren come to the ſame pitch of high ſanctification with themſelves? ſhould they not rather k condeſcend to the weaker? And although it be rare to tell of any actually converted by formes of Prayer, and Scriptures read; yet who can juſtly deny, but that much good hath been, is, and may for ever be done by ſuch things that way, *Sicut ultimus ictus quercum*

h Mat. 6. 9. *Sic ergo orate vos.* οὕτως. Luke 11. 2.

i Rom. 15. 1.

k Rom. 12. 16. *Idipſum in invicem ſentientes; non alta ſapientes, ſed humilibus conſentientes.* ἀλλὰ τοῖς ταπεινοῖς συναπαγόμενοι, but condeſcending to the humble.

quercum non cadit, extrema arena clepſydram non exhaurit, as the laſt ſtroak fells not the oake, nor the laſt ſand exhauſts the houre-glaſſe?

l Act. ſo. 24,44 47,48. & 16. 30,31,32,33. verſ. 14,15.
m Acts 8. 8, 12,14.

26. Whether may not a man [l] and his houſehold, a woman and her houſhold, a whole [m] City, or Countrey, a King and his people, a whole Nation, be baptized, after they are competently inſtructed in the Religion of God?

n Acts 10.
o Acts 16.
p Acts 8.
q Act. 18.

17. Is it certain, that all that were baptized in [n] *Cornelius* his houſe, in the [o] Gaolers houſe, in *Lydia's*, in [p] *Samaria*, in [q] *Corinth*, were ſuch true beleevers, as now good men require all thoſe that joyne with them, to be, before they will receive them to the Communion of their Church? Were not [r] hypocrites admitted & baptized in the Primitive Church, by the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts themſelves, being deceived by them? Were not children circumciſed in the old Teſtament, and baptized all along in the times of the New, ſo received into the boſome of the Church?

r Acts 8.13. Act. 2.41. & 5.1. compared.

28. Could, or can ever any Nation, probably, be brought into the obedience of the Goſpel, poll by poll, in ſuch manner as is imagined by the leaders of ſeparations?

29. If it be poſſible, let them make experience, and try whether the *Indians*, or any other Heathen people, can be ſo converted, before the Greek Kalends.

30. Whether there be any direct Scripture for the peoples choice of their chiefe Paſtour? Can there, ordinarily, be a better election, then when the ſupreame Magiſtrate (who hath, at moſt times,

times, the power of all the people, and ſometimes their counſell in a regular way) joynes with a ſelect and competent number and company of Presbyters in the ſame?

31. Whether any that have not skill, grace, and learning, to judge of the parties to be ordained, whether they be fit, and able to what they are to be ordained, may ſ ordaine them? ſ 1 Tim. 5. 22. Titus 2. 2.

32. Whether or no to maintain a deſired purity or perfection in the Magiſtracie, by election of the people, theſe good men of *New-England*, are not forced to be too ſtrict in receiving the brethren, and to run a courſe tending to heatheniſme?

33. Whether have not popular elections of chiefe Magiſtrates beene, and are they not very dangerous to States and Kingdomes? Are there not ſome great myſteries of State and government? Is it poſſible, convenient, or neceſſary, for all men to attain to the knowledge of thoſe myſteries, or to have the like meaſure of knowledge, faith, mercifulneſſe, wiſdome, courage, magnanimity, patience? Whence are Kings denominated, but from their skill and knowledge to rule? whereto they are even born and educated, and by long experience, and faithfull Counſellors enabled, and the grace and bleſſing of God upon all? Doe not the wiſe, good, ancient, and renowned Laws of *England* attribute much; yea, very much truſt and confidence to the King, as to the head and ſupreame Governour, though much be alſo in the reſt of the great body, heart and hands, and feete, to counſell, maintain, and

preſerve the whole, but eſpecially the Head?

34. Hence what government for an Engliſhman but an hereditary, ſucceſſive, *King*, [v] *the ſon of Nobles*, well counſelled and aſſiſted?

Pro. 25. 3. Eccl. 8. 4. & 10. 16, 17.

35. Whether we the poſterity of the Church, and people of God, who now ſee the tops of things onely, may ſafely condemne the foundations, which we have not ſeen?

36. Whether is there not a difference between bare ſpeculation, and knowledge joyned with found experience, and betweene the experience of Divines and people reforming from out of ſome deepe corruptions in Churches called Chriſtian, and the experience of thoſe that have converſed in and about planting, and building Churches, where there was none before, or among Heathens? what is art many times without experience?

37. Whether thoſe Authors from *Hierome*, to Arch-Biſhop *Adamſon*, that alledge all Presbyters to be equall, and ſhould alwayes have equall power and authority, had any great skill, or will, or experience, in the propagation of Churches among heathens, or barbarous Nations?

38. If not, whether their Teſtimony bee of that validity as is thought by ſome? If they had, whether they might not erre?

39. Whether meſſengers ſent by Churches, or Miniſters taking upon them to go to gather or plant Churches, and to ordain, or give the right hand of fellowſhip to Miniſters in thoſe Churches,

ches, and to appeaſe differences in Church affairs, are not Epiſcopall acts?

40. Is Epiſcopacie, or a ſuperintendencie neceſſary at *New-England*, and is it not neceſſary in more populous places? Are there not ſome, nay many depths and [u] myſteries in Gods holy Word, the Scriptures, and certain Catholique interpretations, which tranſgreſſed, the faith is hurt? Is it poſſible, convenient, or neceſſary for all men, nay all Miniſters, to attain the knowledge of thoſe myſteries, or to have the like meaſure of knowledge, faith, mercifulneſſe, wiſdome, patience, long ſuffering, courage, whereby to be enabled to rule in the Church of God, whereto they are educated, tryed, choſen, and ordained? and do not the ſacred rules and Laws of God, of holy Church and of this Kingdome attribute much, yea very much truſt and confidence to the chief Paſtors, Leaders, and Rulers, the Fathers of the Church, eſpecially to the Biſhops of the prime and Metropoliticall Churches, by the aſſiſtance of, and with, and under the ſupreame Magiſtrate, the chiefe, the beſt cement of government, though much be alſo in other members of the great body, the Church, to counſell, maintaine and preſerve the whole in the faith, ſoundneſſe, peace and unity, eſpecially the chief leaders, when need requireth? Hence what government for Chriſtians in chief, but by pious, learned, Provinciall and Dioceſan Biſhops, eſpecialy in *England* and *Ireland*?

u 1 Cor. 2. 1. & 2. 10.

By the juſt examination of the whole, thoſe that are pious and learned, may eaſily gather, what good

reaſons I had, and have, to returne, as now humbly I doe, to the Church of England, *for whoſe peace, purity, and proſperity, is the daily prayer of one of her moſt unworthy ſons,*

Clements Inne,
Novemb. 16. 1641.

Thomas Lechford.

To a friend.

Sir,

HEre is a good Land, and yeelding many good commodities, eſpecially fiſh, and furs, corne, and other richer things, if well followed, and if that popular elections deſtroy us not. It is a good Land, I ſay, that inſtructs us to repentance, when we conſider what a good Land we came from, what good lawes and government we have left, to make experiments of governing our ſelves here by new wayes, wherein (like young Phyſitians) of neceſſity we muſt hurt and ſpoile one another a great while, before we come to ſuch a ſetled Common-wealth, or Church-government, as is in *England*.

I thank God, now I underſtand by experience, that there is no ſuch government for *Engliſh* men, or any Nation, as a Monarchy; nor for Chriſtians, as by a lawfull Miniſterie, under godly Dioceſan Biſhops, deducing their ſtation and calling from Chriſt and his Apoſtles, in deſcent or ſucceſſion; a thing of greater conſequence then ceremonies,

monies, (would to God I had known it ſooner) which while I have in my place ſtood for here theſe two years, and not agreeing to this new diſcipline, impoſſible to be executed, or long continued, what I have ſuffered, many here can tell; I am kept from the Sacrament, and all place of preferment in the Common-wealth, and forced to get my living by writing petty things, which ſcarce finds me bread; and therefore ſometimes I look to planting of corne, but have not yet here an houſe of my owne to put my head in, or any ſtock going: Whereupon I was determined to come back, but by the over-entreaty of ſome friends, I here think to ſtay a while longer, hoping that the Lord will ſhortly give a good iſſue to things both in our native Country, and *Scotland*, and here, as well as in all other his Majeſties dominions.

I was very glad to ſee my Lord Biſhop of *Exeters* Book; it gave me much ſatisfaction. If the people may make Miniſters, or any Miniſters make others without an Apoſtolicall Biſhop, what confuſion will there be? If the whole Church, or every congregation, as our good men think, have the power of the keyes, how many Biſhops then ſhall we have? If every Pariſh or congregation be ſo free and independent, as they terme it, what unity can we expect?

Glad alſo was I to ſee Maſter *Balls* Book of the tryall of the grounds of Separation, both which are newly come over, and I hope will work much good among us here.

And whereas I was ſometimes miſ-led by thoſe of opinion that Biſhops, and Presbyters, & all Miniſters, are of the ſame authority; When I came to conſider the neceſſary propagation of the truth, and government of the Church, by experimentall foot-ſteps here, I quickly ſaw my error: For beſides, if the congregations be not united under one Dioceſan in fit compaſſe, they are in a confuſion, notwithſtanding all their claſſicall pretendments, how can the Goſpel be propagated to the Indians without an Apoſtolicall Biſhop? If any Church, or people, by the Kings leave, ſend forth Miniſters to teach and inſtruct the poore Indians in the Chriſtian Religion, they muſt have at leaſt Apoſtolicall power to ordain Miniſters or Elders in every congregation among them; and when they have ſo done, they have power of Viſitation where they plant: Nor can they without juſt cauſe be thruſt out from government without great impiety; and where they have planted, that is their line or Dioceſe. Thus I came to ſee, that of neceſſity a Dioceſe, and Biſhop Dioceſan, is very neere, if not altogether of Divine authority.

I am alſo of opinion, that it were good for our Miniſters to learne how to doe this work from ſome of our reverend Biſhops in *England*, for I feare our Miniſters know not how to goe about it. Whether muſt not ſome Miniſters learne their language? It is a copious language, as I am informed, and they have as many words to expreſſe one thing as we have. And when they teach Indians to pray, will they not teach them by

by a forme? and how can Gods worſhip be maintained among ignorant perſons without a forme? I am firme of opinion, that the beſt of us have been much beholding to the Word read, and formes of Prayer.

From Boſton *in* N.E.
Iulii 28. 1640.

This Gentleman to whom I wrote, kindly returned me a wiſe anſwer, wherein is this paſſage:

TO ſpeak in briefe, I think now that *New-England* is a perfect model and ſampler of the ſtate of us here at this time; for all is out of joynt both in Church and Common-wealth, and when it will be better, God knoweth: To him we muſt pray for the amendment of it, and that he will not lay on us the merits of our nationall and particular ſinnes, the true cauſe of all theſe evils.

Dated out of Somerſet-ſhire,
Aprilis 27. 1641.

To another, thus:

IN a word or two, we heare of great diſturbances in our deare native Countrey; I am heartily ſorry, &c. I beſeech you take my briefe opinion; We here are quite out of the way of right government both in Church and Common-wealth, as I verily think, and as far as I can udge upon better conſideration, and ſome pains taken

in

in ſearching after the bottome of ſome things. Some electorie wayes tend to the overthrow of Kingdomes: No ſuch way for government of Engliſhmen, as a Monarchie; of Chriſtians, as by Dioceſan Biſhops in their line: Better yeeld to many preſſures in a Monarchie, then for ſubjects to deſtroy, and ſpoile one another. If I were worthy to adviſe a word, I ſhould deſire you to have a care, and ſo all your friends, you prejudice not your eſtate, or poſterity, by too much oppoſing the Regall power: For I verily beleeve the Kings Majeſty hath in generall a good cauſe touching Epiſcopacie: My reaſons I could better deliver in preſence, if haply God give opportunity to ſee you, or if you require it hereafter, I will be ready to preſent my thoughts unto you. All this, as I ſhall anſwer before the Lord, without any by-reſpects. If you were here, I preſume you would ſee more then I can, but I think you would be much of my mind.

From Boſton *in* N. E.
Septemb. 4. 1640.

To another of no meane rank.

COmplaining of my ſufferings, and ſhewing the reaſons, deſiring him to ſend for me, that I might declare them to his perſon more effectually.

From Boſton *in* N. E. *March*, 1640.

To

To another.

YOu knew my condition and employment, and how ill it went with me in *England*, by reaſon of the trouble of our friends, and my own danger therby. For myoutward ſubſiſtence here, at this time, God knowes it is but meane; ſome ſay it is my owne fault; and that I ſtand in my owne light, and you, and others may ſo conceive; but the God of heaven is my witneſſe, I have endeavoured in all things to keep a good conſcience, though ſometimes I have failed; I have endeavoured, laying all by-reſpects aſide, to joyne with the Church here, but cannot yet be ſatisfyed in divers particulars, whereby I am kept from all place of employment or preferment, as I have had overtures made unto me of, if I would or could yeeld, but hitherto I have not dared to doe it, for good reaſons beſt knowne to our heavenly Witneſſe. I muſt give you a taſte.

They hold their Covenant conſtitutes their Church, and that implyes, we that come to joyne with them, were not members of any true Church whence we came, and that I dare not profeſſe. Againe, here is required ſuch confeſſions, and profeſſions, both in private and publique, both by men and women, before they be admitted, that three parts of the people of the Country remaine out of the Church, ſo that in ſhort time moſt of the people will remaine unbaptized, if this courſe hold, and is (we feare) of dangerous conſequence, a thing not tending to the propagation

tion of the Goſpel in peace: Which, though it have a colour of ſanctimony and ſtrictneſſe, whereby many well-affected or affectionate people, but weak in ſound experience and judgement, are the rather drawn thereunto, and they are in a manner neceſſitated to it, to maintaine their election of Magiſtrates and Miniſters in their owne way of popular or Ariſtocraticall government; I dare not (for my part) yeeld unto neither in my own conſcience, nor for the credit of thoſe perſons with whom I have been educated, and in whoſe cauſes I have been ſeen. A Monarchy is the beſt government for Engliſhmen; better to ſuffer ſome preſſures under that kind of government, then to ſpoile one another with popular elections. Againe, I cannot yeeld to Lay-Elders, nor that Lay-men ſhould impoſe hands upon any to the Miniſterie, nor that any Miniſter ſhould renounce his calling to the Miniſterie which he received in *England*, as Antichriſtian: It is a groſſe error, and palpable ſchiſme; then our Baptiſme is not right, and ſo there will be no end of ſeparations. Alſo I beleeve there cannot be a Church, without a true Miniſter; nor can anygather themſelves together into a Church without a true Miniſter; nor can they ordain their own Miniſters; ordinarily, I meane; what may be done in an extraorninary caſe, *pro prima vice*, is another queſtion; I hold there ought to be an Apoſtolicall Biſhop, by ſucceſſion from Chriſt and his Apoſtles, ſuperiour in order or degree to his brethren; which Biſhop ought to ordain, and

rule

rule with other Presbyters, or alone, but Presbyters cannot without him. And if so be any thing in word or act passed from mee to the contrary hereof, I do professe it was in my ignorance. Their calling is of Divine authority, or neareſt thereunto, else the Church of God could not have subsisted in any tolerable way of peace, through all this by-past time of 1600. yeeres. I feare they know not what they say, that say the contrary: let them come here, they will quickly change their minde, if they study the point, and follow it home; for, besides the keeping of peace and unity, and a pure and able learned Ministery, how can the Gospell be propagated without some speciall Ministers, having the power Apostolicall, to goe forth to convert *Indians* or *Pagans*? If a Pastor, or Minister, or Christian, of any Church shall doe so, what hath he to doe with Infidels? as hee is a Pastor, he is no Pastor to them. Therefore if any are sent to convert, and establish Churches among Infidels, such as are sent are Apostolick Messengers, Bishops or Ministers to them, and ought to be sent with fasting and Prayer, and by imposition of hands of the Presbytery, and having converted Infidels, may plant Churches, and ordain Ministers among them, and afterwards visit them; and is not this Episcopacie, and their line wherein they have gone their Diocesse? These things naturally flow from, and are grounded in the Word, or equity thereof, and meere necessity. Now if all Ministers should ordinarily have this authority, to go forth to these works,

without miſſion, what quarelling there would be for diviſion of Lines or Dioceſes, let the experience of former ages tell, yea of the Apoſtolique times, wherein were not wanting thoſe that quarelled with Saint *Paul* himſelfe, about his Line or rule, 2 *Cor.* 10. Now unto this confuſion, tends the opinion, that ſaith, a Biſhop and Presbyter is all one and equall; it is of *Acrius*, it is falſe, and it is confuſion. The reformed Churches and Writers that held ſo, had little experience of miſſion to convert & plant Churches among Infidels. That reformation goes too deep that tends to pulling downe of Cathedrall Churches, and Biſhops houſes: Should not Apoſtolick Biſhops, and the chiefeſt Miniſters have houſes to dwell in, and Churches to recide and officiate in, whither all the Churches of their Line may ſend and come together in Councel, or Synod, and ſo do nothing of great moment without their Biſhop, a *Timothy*, or a *Titus*? Again, Baptiſme is admiſſion and initiation into the Church; to whom Baptiſme is commited, *viz.* Apoſtles and Apoſtolick Miniſters, they have power of admiſſion, that is, of looſing, and conſequently of binding, excommunication or expulſion. Where is now the peoples power in the keyes? are they all Apoſtles, and Apoſtolick Miniſters? what confuſion is this? who can yeeld to it knowingly? I beſeech you pardon my zeale, and when you have conſidered all, pity my condition, and pray for me ſtill. Well I am aſſured, that maſter *Prynne* & maſter *Burton* would never yeeld to theſe things, eſpecially,

if

if they had experience of them. It is good for us to ſee our errours, and acknowledge them, that we may obtain peace in the day of account.

Boſton, 13. *Oct.* 1640.

To another.

SOrry and grieved we are at the heart, to heare of the troublous eſtate and condition of our native countrey; wee here alſo meete with our troubles and diſtreſſes in outward things, and ſome in ſpirituall matters alſo. Here wants a ſtaple commodity to maintain cloathing to the Colony. And for my own particular, hitherto I have beene much diſtreſſed here by reaſon I cannot yet ſo clearely underſtand the Church proceedings, as to yeeld to them, there are therein ſo many difficult conſiderations, that they have ſometiines bred great confuſion in my thoughts. Never ſince I ſaw you have I received the Sacrament of the Lords ſupper. I have diſputed in writing, though to my great hinderance, in regard of outward things, yet bleſſed be the Lord, to my better ſatisfaction at the laſt. I never intended openly to oppoſe the godly here in any thing I thought they miſtooke, but I was lately taken at advantage, and brought before the Magiſtrates, before whom, giving a quiet and peaceable anſwer, I was diſmiſſed with favour, and reſpect promiſed me by ſome of the chiefe for the future. Our chiefe difference was about the foundation of the Church and Miniſtery, and what rigid ſeparations

may tend unto, what is to be feared, in caſe the moſt of the people here ſhould remaine unbaptized; conſiderations which may trouble the wiſeſt among us. Rigid ſeparations never did, nor can propagate the Goſpell of Chriſt, they can do no good, they have done hurt. It is dangerous to found Church government on dark & uncertain interpretations of Propheticall, or other Scriptures; foundations ought to be full of evidence, & demonſtration. Bleſſed be the Lord, now ſome of the chiefe leaders of the Churches here hold the Churches in *England* true Churches, and your Miniſtery lawfull, though divers corruptions there may be among you; yea ſome there bee of the chiefe among us that conceive the government by godly Biſhops ſuperintendent over others to be lawfull. Churches are not perfect in this world. We may not for every diſagreement in opinion, or for ſlender pretended corruptions, ſeparate from the Church: ſeparate ſo once, and no end of ſeparation.

From Boſton *in* N. E.
Decem. 19. 1640.

To conclude.

SUppoſe there are foure ſorts of Government, which are uſed in Church, as in Commonwealth; Monarchicall abſolute without Lawes, which is tyrannie; Monarchicall bounded by Lawes; Ariſtocraticall, and Democraticall: Epiſcopall abſolute, which is Popiſh tyrannie; Epi-

Epiſcopall regulated by juſt Lawes; Presbyterian, and Congregationall: Which of theſe will all men like, and how long? Some have well compared the humour of the people in this kind, to a merry relation of an old man and his ſonne, paſſing through the ſtreets of a City, with one horſe betweene them: Firſt, the old man rode, then the people found fault with his unkindneſſe, in that he did not cauſe his ſon to ride with him: then the young man gets up too, now the people ſay they are both unmercifull to the beaſt: downe comes the old man, then the young man is unmannerly to ride, and his father walk on foot: at laſt downe goes the young man alſo, and leads the horſe, then they were both unwiſe to lead the horſe, and neither of them to ride. Well, but alter the inconſtant vulgar will; if ſo, God grant it be for the better. But then conſider ſtories, one alteration follows another; ſome have altered ſixe times, before they were ſetled againe, and ever the people have paid for it both money and bloud.

Concerning Church-government, what the Presbyterian way is, and how ſutable for *Englands* Monarchie, I leave to the pious experienced Divines to ſet forth, and the Church and State thereof to judge.

And for the Congregationall independent government, whereof I have had ſome experience, give me leave inſtead of a better intelligencer thus to preſent to my deare countrey, now in a time of neede, my impartiall opinion in theſe confuſed

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papers: And in brief thus: Although it had ſome ſmall colour in Scripture, and a great pretence of holineſſe, yet no ſound ground in the Scripture; Again, if it be neither fit nor poſſible long to bee continued in *New-England*, as not I alone, but many more eye and eare witneſſes doe know, and the learned can and will judge undoubtedly, it muſt needes be much more unfit and impoſſible to be brought into *England*, or *Ireland*, or any other populous Nation.

All which upon the whole I humbly ſubmit unto the ſacred judgment and determination of holy Church, his royall Majeſty, and his Highneſſes great and honourable Councel, the high Court of PARLIAMENT.

Imprimatur,
Ioh: Hanſley.

FINIS.





An Exact and full 18

RELATION

OF THE LAST

FIGHT,

Between the KINGS Forces and Sir WILLIAM WALLER.

Sent in a Letter from an Officer in the Army to his friend in *London*.

Printed to prevent mis-information.

LONDON
Printed for *Ben. Allen*, in Popes-Head-Alley.
July 5. 1644.

RELATION

OF THE LAST

ENGAGEMENT

between Sir WILLIAM DRAKE

in the Army to his friend in London.

LONDON

AN EXACT AND FVLL RELATION OF THE LAST FIGHT

between the KINGS Forces and Sir WILLIAM WALLER.

From Borton *the place of our Randevous the* 30th *of June*, 1644.

WEE have thought good to give you the best and truest Relation of our late passages, and Gods providence towards us. After severall dayes marching; on thursday night last about seven of the Clock wee faced the Kings body at Cropready bridge neare Bunbury, and all day, the next day, and yesterday till noone being Saturday, about ten of the clock in the forenoone wee discovered their Army to be upon the march towards *Dainty*: and as some (who were since taken prisoners) affirme, their entent was from thence to *York*. Whereupon command was given to some particular persons to advance after them, and fall in their Reere: But it proved the middle of their whole body.

According to the order, our Regiment of Horſe and Collonell *Vandroſſes*, advanced under the Command of Lievtenant Generall *Middleton*, and Captain *Butler*, Adjutant Generall, and foure Companies of *Farnham* foote, and five Companies of Sir *Williams* owne Regiment, under the Command of Lievtenant Collonell *Baines*, (ſometime a Brewer in *London*) Quarter-Maſter Generall to the foote.

They had placed a Guard to ſecure *Cropready*-bridge, which wee readily beat off, and made the bridge our owne by a partie of Dragoons, and paſt over the River between us and *Banbury*, (for till then we were on the one ſide of the River, and they on the other) being over the River, through miſ-information, wee too ſpeedily purſued the enemy, (being enformed that their whole bodie was marched away, when as a third part of them were left behinde unknowne to us. Wee purſued them above a mile, till we came to a bridge, where their Foot made a ſtand, drew up and fac'd us; wee being within Musket ſhot of them, onely our foure eldeſt Troops, (*viz.*) Sir *Arthurs*, Captaine *Okees*; Captaine *Foleyes*, and Captaine *Gardners*: They overthrew a Carriage to barricado the bridge, and planted it with Musketiers. This occaſioned our Retreat back againe, being unwilling too farre to engage our ſelves, having no Foot within above halfe a mile of us, and diſcovering their Army behind us, upon our retreat wee diſcovered the party of Foot (drawne over with us) by an unreſiſtable body of the enemies Horſe, of ſome thirty Troops, and two regiments of Foot put to diſorderly retreat, which haſtened our march back againe, and comming back we found the way to the bridge within a quarter of a mile, ſtopt with the enemies Horſe and Foot, who were got between our Foot and the bridge: For whoſe reliefe (although our way backe lay on the right hand, we advanced up to their body on the left hand up the hill, and with our foure Troops charged the Kings owne Regiment, and put them

them to a retreat; but the other Troop commming downe upon us, (there being of them in all ſome three Regiments) with whom we were in no caſe able to deale, we were neceſſitated to retreat very diſorderly, having put their body of Horſe into a combuſtion, having ſlain three Colonels, whereof one was Sir *William Butler*, a Papiſt of *Kent*, Lieutenant generall of Horſe (*viz.*) *Wilmut* was ſore wounded, and his Lieutenant Generall taken priſoner, and committed to the cuſtody of two Souldiers, who in our diſorderly retreat loſt him againe: We ſlue divers other of their Officers both in our charge and in our retreat, the way being filled with their foot and horſe, many whereof were wounded ſorely, ſlew others, and took ſome priſoners. Comming back to the Bridge, the Hamblets very honourably and ſtoutly made good the Bridge, kept back the enemy, and recovered three peeces of our Ordnance, which we had loſt; we having loſt ſome half a dozen ſmall peeces beſides, which were unadviſedly drawne over before the Foot were ready to march along with them, and the men running away with the horſe, we could not draw them back again: being over th bridge, we rallied together, and drew our body toward anoher place of the river, where the enemy made ſhew of comming over, but we kept them on the other ſide; although we could not attain what we attempted, yet we hereby bravely cauſed them to draw back their whol body from their march onward toward *Daintry*, wch muſt retard their journy to *York*. Having faced them ſeveral hours together, towards evening the King ſent his trumpeter to our General, wth a meſſage to this effect, that if our General pleaſed, he would ſend a Herald of Armes, which at the head of our Army ſhould proclaim a gracious Meſſage. The anſwer from our Generall was returned thus, That he had no commiſſion to treat with his Majeſtie concerning peace; but if he pleaſed to ſend to the two Houſes of Parliament, wee ſhould remain his faithfull ſubjects. In the time of our facing wee exchanged ſeverall Cannon ſhot, as we conceive fourty ſhot apiece, but through Gods mercy, all their Cannon ſhot gave

us

us but the losse of one horse, not one man; but our shot, the Lord so ordering it, caused them to draw backe their body out of our reach, where they abode all night. Wee tooke in the fight two Horse Colours of theirs, and we lost three Foot Colours, we have lost Lievtenant Colonell *Baines*, who as we heare, would not take quarter, we have lost Col. *Wembi*, Collonell of our Artillery, and Lievtenant Collonell *Baker*, Lievtenant Collonell to Sir *Williams* Regiment of foote.

Wee have lost of ours, and taken prisoners neare upon one hundred, or six score. Captaine *Okes* has lost some ten men, whereof one Master *Cresey* is one: Captain *Gardner* hath lost neer as many: Captain *Foleyr* foure, and three wounded, whereof one *Thomas Steme*, an apprentise formerly to Master *Lloyd*, who lived in Watling-street is one, being shot into the thigh, the thigh-bone broke, and ran through both buttocks with a tuck: We this day sent him and another, one *John Nicklis* to *Warwicke*, there to be carefully provided for. We have lost but one Officer in all our Regiment, praised be God, and that is Captain *Perries* Cornet.

It was an infinite mercy of God we had not been all lost, which we desire may bee taken notice of, with solemne thankes to God almightie, who was our onely helper: as also for the double good effect it wrought; *viz.* it drew their body back from marching toward *York*; and wee relieved some six hundred horse that were comming to joyne with us, whom the enemy had faced above a quarter of an houre, comming from *Northampton*, who had not wee take this course, in all probabilitie they had been all cut off. Wee have taken a Major of the Kings owne Regiment, his name is *Webbe*, he is mortally wounded, not likely to recover: Our Officers and Souldiers are very well, and very cheerefull, willingly content to goe on with the work, if we can but be supplyed with bread and water, our lodging having for severall nights been, and still is, on Gods cold earth, over-shaddowed with the Canopie of heavens

heavens ſweet Firmament, and God in much mercy hath afforded us ſweet temperate weather; nothing hath been ſo ſhort with us as Bread for men, the earth affording graſſe for our horſes. Wee ſtill continue facing one another, the River betweene us, wee maintain *Cropready-bridge*, and hinder their paſſage over to us, waiting what they will do, and expecting further ſupplyes, either from Col. *Brown*, Lord *Gray*, Collonel *Murey*, or the Earle of *Denbigh*, whom it pleaſes God to ſend. They have a far larger body of horſe then wee, but for foot wee dare incounter, being no ways fearfull to deal with their horſe.

Wee deſire not to bury the mercies of God in oblivion, but to tell of his loving kindneſſe, and deſire that all our friends may be acquainted with his goodneſſe to us in this delivery, that they may be the better ſtirred up, both in publique and private to bleſſe God, and rejoyce with us.

We deſire your prayers for our good ſucceſſe, and that is the greateſt comfort that under God wee have, that wee have a ſtock of prayers ſtill going on among all Gods people. His Majeſty was under a tree in the field not above Piſtoll ſhot, where wee charged his horſe, as ſome of our own men, and ſome of their priſoners affirm. Wee have about 80. of theirs priſoners; there is now another Trumpeter come from his Majeſty, but for what we know not, it is ſure no parley, for our Cannon playes at them. My Capt. man, *Henry Phillips* the Barbar is taken priſoner: my man *Thomas Singer* charged with mee, and came off, bleſſed be God, ſafe and well, and did good ſervice.

All our Officers and Souldiers in this buſineſſe behaved themſelves very ſtoutly. Lievtenant Generall *Middleton*, and Adjutant Generall *Butler*, charged with us very gallantly; Lievtenant Generall *Middleton* was accidentally diſmounted, and one of Captain *Okes* his men diſmounted, and mounted him on his horſe, and after brought off the Lieveteanant Generalls owne horſe and piſtols, for

for which the Lievtenant Generall hath made him a Captain Lievtenant, and he ſhall be his childe ſo long as he lives. I fear the Poſt will be gone, I take leave, a thouſand times farewell, the Lord preſerve you and us all, which is the deſire of thy truly loving Brother till death,

Tho. Ellis.

Poſtſcript.

THe Trumpeter from his Majeſty, as I hear, brings this meſſage: that the King will give our Generall leave to march away with his foot and horſe, provided he will leave his Artillery and Ammunition behind him, but bleſſed be our God, we are not in that ſtrait as yet; were wee, wee would rather chooſe to leave ſome of our blood to doe him good. Severall friends I know will ſend to ſee this Letter, therefore I pray thee beſtow a dozen of points thereon, *Vale.*

FINIS.



A Militarie SERMON,

WHEREIN

By the VVord of God, the nature and disposition of a Rebell is discovered, and the Kings true Souldier described and characterized:

Preached at SHREWSBURY, May 19. 1644. to His Majesties Army there under the Command of the High and most Illustrious Prince *RVPERT*.

By *Edw. Symmons* Chaplain to the Life-guard of the Prince of WALES.

PROV. 24. 19, 20, 21, 22.

Fret not thy selfe, because of the evill man, neither be thou envious at the wicked.

For there shall be no reward to the evill man, the candle of the Wicked shall be put out.

My sonne feare thou the Lord, and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change:

For their calamity shall rise suddainly, and who knoweth the ruine of them both?

July 9d. OXFORD,

Printed by *Henry Hall*, in the Yeere 1644.

TO

The Honourable Sir MICHAEL WOOD-HOUSE, Governour of Ludlow, and Colonell to the Life-guard of the Prince of *WALES*.

Noble Sir,

MY dependance on you, and your reſpects to me, did formerly move to ſome publike manifeſtation of my ſervice to you, and had not the Preſſe, like the poole of Bethesda, beene oppreſſed with multitudes, the world ere now had taken notice of it; but this following Sermon had the advantage to ſtep in before that, which had lyen there longer; and this I dedicate to your Name: as it was with attention and favour heard, by many gallant Gentlemen and Souldiers, ſo I hope by your ſelfe (who are both) it will be accepted, as agreeable to godlineſſe, and entertained as a demonſtration of the inward affection which is due from

Your Servant,

E. S.

To the Readers.

Courteous Readers, in this following Sermon, you will meet ſometime with this Title, The men of Weſtminſter; *I deſire you would not conceive, that thereby is intended the Parliament of* England (*as ſome are pleaſed to call them*) *but onely that powerfull Faction there abiding, or thereunto relating, which doth oppoſe the Lords Annointed, ſubverting our Religion, peace, and Nation: for if* (*as themſelves teach*) *ſome may* (*notwithſtanding their Oath of Allegiance*) *reſiſt by force of armes the perſon of their Soveraigne Lord* CHARLES *as he is a man, and yet honour him* (*in the meane while*) *as he is King: I hope that I a Miniſter of God, may more lawfully by Gods Word oppoſe the vices of ſuch, as they are men, and yet reverence them if they be* (*as in their own account*) *Members of the honourable Houſes: nay, I doe not ſpeake againſt them as they are men, but onely as they are tranſgreſſors from the holy and righteous wayes of God: 'tis their evills that I oppoſe, not their perſons: I am onely grieved at the hardneſſe and perverſneſſe of their ſpirits, and I deſire with* Jeremy, Chap. 9. 1. *that* mine head were a fountaine of water, and mine eyes ſprings, that I might weepe day and night for the ſlaine of the daughter of my people *occaſioned by them: And good Readers* (*if you be true Chriſtians, and right borne Engliſhmen*) *I beſeech you, let us all ſtrive together with God by our teares for the ſoftening of theſe mens hearts* (*if it be poſſible.*) *Our Saviour wept for the ſins and enſuing miſeries of thoſe that ſought his ruine, we have the like object at this time, O let us diſcover in our ſelves the minde of Chriſt, God expects it from all his Saints.* Farewell.

A Military Sermon.

PROV. 17. 11.

An evill man ſeeketh onely Rebellion, therefore a cruell Meſſenger ſhall be ſent againſt him.

THe maine ſcope (as I apprehend) of this Militarie Sermon is; Firſt, to diſcover out of Gods Book the nature of Rebellion, and rebellious men.

Secondly, to encourage from the Lord the Kings loyall Subjects, and true hearted Souldiers in their oppoſing ſuch.

Now the firſt of theſe is the Doctrine of this Text, and the ſecond is the uſe of it.

A Rebell is an evill or wicked man; for ſuch a one is he, (ſaith the Text) *That ſeeks Rebellion:* ſure then Rebellion it ſelf muſt needs be a wicked worke, or a worke of wickedneſſe, becauſe 'tis that which in the judgement of Gods ſpirit, wicked men onely ſeek for, or thirſt after: there is your Doctrine.

The uſe followes naturally, and 'tis this; If it be ſo, then 'tis the duty of all good men to oppoſe Rebellion, and to endeavour the ſuppreſſion of all Rebellious men; yea, if extreme ſeverity be exerciſed upon ſuch, they have but their due portion allotted them of the Lord: for ſaies the Text, *a cruell Meſſenger ſhall be ſent unto him.*

Thus you ſee the Text doth well ſute the occaſion, if my diſcourſe ſhall but as well ſute the Text, and your attention (noble Gentlemen and Souldiers) my diſcourſe; I hope through Gods bleſſing, our meeting will not be altogether fruitleſſe and unprofitable.

But for the better knowledge of the Rebells and their work: of your ſelves and your owne duty, I le give you a more full deſcription of both, and that from the Text too; which to my apprehenſion doth offer a double diſcoverie; one of the Kings enemies, and another of his friends or good Souldiers.

The enemy is discovered by three particulars, in the former part of the verse;

1. By his naturall disposition; He is *malus*, an *evill man*.

2. By his active diligence, in the word, *quærit*, *seeketh*.

3. By his ungodly worke, in the word *Rebellion*: or *tantùm rebellionem*, *An evill man seeketh onely Rebellion*.

The Kings true Souldier is described by three more particulars, in the latter part of the verse;

1. By his Office, He is *Angelus* or *Nuncius*, a *Messenger*.

2. By his Commission, in the word *mittetur*, *shall be sent*.

3 By his Imployment, in the word *Cruell*, a *cruell messenger*; he is so called from the severity he shall use, or from that sharp punishment which shall be inflicted by him: *therefore a cruell Messenger shall be sent against him*: of these in order, and first of the enemy.

Part. 1.

1 1. His naturall disposition, he is *malus*, an evill man, *An evill man seekes Rebellion*, some read *Rebellis tantùm quærit malum*, a Rebellious man seekes onely mischiefe; so making a Rebell and a wicked man to be all one, as they doe mischiefe and Rebellion to be the same thing; and indeed so they are, adde but *most* to *wicked*, turne but *malus* into *pessimus*, and they are Synonymaes, and may be predicated of each other, and then the Doctrine is in these words;

Doct. *A Rebell is a most wicked man, of a most malignant disposition.*

I say a most wicked man, because Rebellion it self (as we shall shew anon) is the very height and top of all mischief, therefore he that is arrived at that pitch of wickednesse, as to be a Rebell must needs be a most wicked man.

Now, I would have you know that by Rebellion, I mean that which is against the King, and I define it to be, *A resisting the Authority, and a violent opposing the will and person of the lawfull Governour*; which being a sinne forbidden in the Commandement of the second Table, is more against the light of nature, then Rebellion against God onely.

Every wicked man is a Rebell against God, and sinneth against grace and piety, yet being indued with humanity and morall honesty, such may happily live in obedience to their Prince, and may fight for him, against those that doe resist him: But they that rebell against the King, sinne not onely against piety, but even against nature it selfe, and grace doth seldome overtake such men, they are so highly wicked; so ferre, or so fully malignant.

Cajetan makes a difference between *facinerosum* and *rebellem*, a naughty man, and a Rebell: a naughty man (saies he) will admit of evill

evill, and commit it too, upon occasions of gaine or pleasure, but a Rebell is he that studies mischief, and seeks occasions to foment Rebellion.

And indeed the distinction is good, onely give me leave to adde this, I doe believe (for my part) that every wicked man who is a Rebell against God in *esse*, is also a Rebell against the King in *posse*: he that is not converted to God by grace, may in time prove a rebell unto his King: He that loves not the King for conscience sake, in regard of the Oath or Command of God, is neither a good man, nor a truly good subject; they that hold with the King for their wealth sake, to keep that, or that serve him onely for their pay, I make no question, but if others could give them better security for their Estates, or would give them better wages, they would make no matter to cast off their present obedience: such men are but like the Cananites in the booke of the *Iudges*, who when they could get ability and advantage to themselves, did shake off the yoak of *Israel*, and took part with the enemies against their Governours: I wish these present times had not spoken too loudly to this purpose; surely as *feare God and the King*, so *love God and the King* go together.

But further I grant this, 'tis one thing *facere malum*, and another thing *quærere malum*; even a good man may unadvisedly or through weakness doe evill, but not purposely seek to do it: He may be an assister *in*, but not a contriver of Rebellion, and such a one may be recovered out of the snare of Satan, (as those are who are come from the Rebells unto us,) for why? Rebellion is but adventitious unto such a one, whereas unto the other, 'tis naturall, yea 'tis his naturall disposition to rebell, and of such a Rebell, the Text speaks: and him I affirme to be a most wicked man, a man of a most malignant disposition, which I prove thus.

This rebellious disposition or inclination is bred and borne with him, and so 'tis rivetted into his very soul. *David* speaking of such, *Psal.* 58. 3. 4. &c. saies, *They are refractary from the wombe, so soon as they are borne, they go astray, and speak lies*, (the true practice of all Rebells) *the poyson of their lipps is the poyson of a serpent*, (blasting the credit and reputation of their betters,) *they are like the deafe adder which stoppeth her eare, and will not hearken to the voice of charmers, charme they never so wisely, i. e.* they will not be perswaded by any good counsell to put off their mischievous disposition of evill speaking and evill doing.

For indeed as tis in them *ab initio*, from their beginning, so it abides in them alwaies, *Rebellis quærit duntaxat malum*, (saies the Text) A rebellious man seeks onely evill, he minds nothing else, he is alway inclining to the way of Rebellion, as a stone is to its center, some translations read

read, *tantùm, Rebellis*, onely a rebellious man mindes this miſcheife, which tyes it as a Property to him alone, he and none elſe ſtudyes rebellion: nor will he by any meanes be moved to ceaſe ſo to do, for ſayes Solomon in the words immediately going before the text, *an hundred ſtripes will not enter into a foole*, he is ſo farre from being amended by corrections that he ſtill perſiſts in his rebellious way, and ſeekes to act miſcheife, even till a *cruell meſſenger be ſent unto him*, not to give him more ſtripes, for they will do him no good, but even to cut him off from having a being.

In the former Chapter *Prov.*16. 27, 28, 29. this rebellious man is well ſet forth by his titles, and by his practices, theſe we ſhall note in the next point but obſerve his titles now.

1. He is called there v. 27, *nequam* an *ungodly man*; and if we would know what kind of ungodly man the ſpirit meanes, we ſhall ſee it from the Originall, for the Hebrew reads it *vir Belial*, a man without yoake, that will not live under Government, which in plaine Engliſh is a rebell:

2. He is called v. 28. *vir perverſitatum* a man of perverſities. *a froward man*, a man of perverſe lips, of a croſſe ſpirit, that ſtudies only to thwart, and croſſe, and vex, and grieive the ſpirit of others.

3. He is called there *Suſurro* a *whiſperer* of ſlanders, or a backbiter, that breakes peace, and makes diviſions among friends: *Tremelius* reades it *Suſurro diſjungit ducem*, a whiſperer that makes a ſeperation betwixt the Prince and his people, ſo in the 9 verſe of this Chapter, there is the ſame phraſe againe *iteraus rem diſjungit ducem*, he that repeates a matter over and over, (as backbiters uſe to doe for want of other faults) ſeperates the Prince from his people or them from him: this is another of his properties:

4. He is called there in the 29 verſ. *vir violentiæ* a violent man, or a man of bloud, theſe are the titles and conditions of a rebell, and experience tells us they are true conditions: And who will not ſay, that theſe do ſpeake a *Rebell to be a moſt wicked man, or a man of a moſt malignant diſpoſition?*

Reaſon. The ground of this malignity of diſpoſition we gather from our Saviours words to ſome in whom the ſame was. Joh. 8. 44. *You are of your Father the Devill, and his workes you will do*: now the Devill was the firſt rebell that ever was, and the firſt ſeducer of others to rebellion, he did effect, as you may ſee in *Gen.* 3. only by belying and by ſlandering of his Soveraigne: now as *Iubal* and *Tubal-Cain* were called the Fathers of them that followed their art and trade which they firſt invented

ted, ſo may the Divell be called the Father of all Rebells: And he wee know is ſtiled ὁ πονηρὸς, the wicked one κατ' ἐξοχὴν, in a ſpeciall manner the moſt malignant one, and they in their meaſure are of a diſpoſition like him.

Nay Satan is more their Father then in that ſence: he is (as I may ſay) their naturall Father, and as the godly are ſaid to be *partakers of the godly nature*, ſo Rebells may be ſaid to be partakers of the very Diabolicall nature, his owne wicked ſpirit acts in them, and you may be ſure, it acts his worke, and in his method, and therefore our Saviour calls thoſe very men in another place, *ſerpents broode, and generation of vipers*: now a viper (as ſome write) doth deſtroy its owne damme, which gave it being, and ſo did they their Saviour, and ſo do all Rebells, (yea our Rebells) indeavour the deſtruction of their owne Nation that bred them, of their owne Soveraigne that preſerved them, as *Nero* ript the Bowels of his owne Mother that bare him, ſo do theſe (*patria mater*) rip up the very bowells of their owne Countrey, that gave birth and breeding to them.

2 *Pet.* 1. 4.

Mat. 12. 34.

Iohannes Aventinus tells us that *Maximilian* the Emperour was wont to call the King of *Spaine Rex Hominum*, a King of men, becauſe his Subjects like men liv'd in obedience, but the King of *England* he would call *Rex Diabolorum*, a King of Divells, becauſe the Subjects of this Kingdom had divers times rebelled againſt their Soveraign, (though alwaies to their owne ruine,) as in King *Iohn*, *Henry* the third, *Edward* the ſecond, and *Richard* the ſecond's daies: And I would to God, that ſome in this Nation, did not now prove themſelves worſe Divells then ever, but alaſſe they do, for the Religion here profeſſed now, is more oppoſite to this rebellious way, then that which was practiſed in thoſe former daies: But in this, we may more fully behold the malignity and vicious diſpoſition of Rebellious ſpirits, they are not capable of gracious or evangelicall inſtructions, never marvaile if they who offered ſpight to the cleare dictates of the Goſpell, do rebell againſt the King.

Therefore be not a Rebell, Truſt not a Rebell: *Vſe.*

1. *Be not a Rebell*, walke not in the way with them, for ſo to doe, will ſpeak you the Devills Child, and to have reached to the higheſt ſtaire of vilanie, your Titles will be the ſame which Saint *Peter* gives to *Elimas* the Sorcerer. *Act.* 13. 10. *Full of all Subtilty, Child of the Divell, Enemy of righteouſneſſe, and perverter of the right waies of the Lord*: you may remember for the Honour of Rebellion; that the worſt Title that the evill ſpirit could teach King *Saul* in the heate of his wrath to call *Ionathan* by, was this, *Thou Sonne of the perverſe and Rebellious Woman*. 1 *Sam.* 20. 30.

2. *Truſt not a Rebell,* 'tis *Solomons* advice, *Prov.* 26. 25. *Though he ſpeaketh faire, yet believe him not, for there be ſeven* (that is a multitude of) *abhominations in his heart*: they that ſeek Rebellion (as appeares by the practice of ſome in our Nation,) doe hold that Principle of the Jeſuites, that they may break their word, promiſe, or oath, ſo it be *in ordine ad cauſam*, to promote their cauſe, and what man that is wiſe will credit ſuch? *He that hateth* (ſaies Solomon) *diſſembleth with his lips, and layeth up deceit within him*: ſo did theſe *men of Hope*, when to get leave to ſit as long as they pleaſed, they promiſed the Reformation of Church and State, the payments of the Kings debts, and to make him the moſt glorious Prince in Chriſtendome: for how well they have kept (or indeavoured to keepe) their word, let all men judge: They make lyes their refuge, and confide in them, and there's reaſon for it, they are of their neereſt kindred, even their owne Brethren, Children with themſelves of the ſame Father: I could ſhew you how all the foundation ſtones of their rebellious building are nothing but Lyes; and ſo are the pillowes that uphold the ſame, cemented they are together, with a morter of craft, malice, and impudency, but experience hath too ſufficiently taught this to the whole Nation: beſide I ſhould want time if I ſhould now ſpeake of it, onely there is one thing I'le deſire you to note in all Rebells: It is their nature (being men that like *Ahab* have ſold themſelves to worke wickedneſſe) to charge (as he did) by their lyes their owne conditions and intentions upon others: *thou art he that troubles Iſrael* (ſayeth he to *Elias*) when it was himſelf: ſo *Corah* and his companions when they rebelled againſt *Moſes* and *Aron*, did charge them *for taking too much upon them*, when it was onely themſelves that did ſo: And Satan when he tempted our firſt Parents to rebell, did charge moſt wickedly upon the Lord his Soveraigne, his own conditions of falſhood and envy. And ſo his Brood amongſt us, how directly have they trod in his ſteps: for (ſeducing the people to rebell againſt their Leige Lord) they have moſt maliciouſly accuſed him of falſhood (their owne condition,) and of envy at the welfare and happineſſe of them his Subjects; and that he intended to alter religion, to deſtroy the Liberties of Parliament, and the properties of his people; yea and to bring in forraigners to invade the Nation; while themſelves (as wofull experience doth now teach us) have indeavoured, and in ſome ſort effected all and every one of the ſame things: wherefore from hence (I ſay) learne to be ſo wiſe as not to truſt a Rebell; and to this purpoſe, remember the example of our Saviour, *John* 2. 24. though they ſpeake him faire, and made great profeſſions of their good will towards him, and of being his Diſciples.

yet

yet *he would not commit himself unto them. For* (saith the Text) *he knew well what was in them*, they were some of that Serpents brood I spake of before.

And secondly remember too, how they (our Rebells I meane) will not believe the King, offering undeserved mercy and pardon unto them, although he like that Inhabitant of Heaven, *Psal.* 15. hath kept his word with them to his owne losse, do you therefore believe such unbelievers. But what should be the reason of this their suspicion, (some will say,) why even this; they judge of the King by themselves, they thinke hee will deceive them, because they have already, and still thinke to deceive him: what paines hath been taken, and at this present is, by those *Councellors of Peace at* Oxford, to worke faith in these Infidells, but to no purpose, 'tis true which the Psalmist saies of such men, *Let the Charmers charme never so wisely they will not heare*, for 'tis mischiefe onely which they seeke after, and are resolved, yea have sworne, and taken a Covenant to persevere in:

A wicked man seeketh onely Rebellion.

2. *Seeketh*: this word notes his active diligence: seeking is studying and devising occasions and meanes to promote that which is aimed at, *querit tantùm*, he is diligent, for he mindeth nothing else, but this he minds alwaies: the Lesson or Doctrine is this.

Rebellious men are exceeding industrious and diligent in their way.

They are alwaies plotting or acting somewhat to the furtherance. *Mat.* 2. 1. *They devise iniquity in the night season, upon their beds, and in the day time they practice what they have devised, because* (saith the Text) *they haue got power* (or the *Militia*) *into their hands*: nay sometime they are so great with Egge to act that mischiefe which they have plotted in the Evening, against the righteous man that lives quietly by them: that they will fetch him out of his bed at midnight: the diligence of a Rebell is well expressed in that place before named, *Prov.* 16. 27, 28, 29.

1. *Vir Belial*, a Rebell or an ungodly man *diggeth up evill*, that is he takes paines to undermine his brother, as men do by digging to undermine Cities: or he diggs into mens lives to find faults, as men do into the earth to find coales and mettalls; and when with the teeth of his malice he hath digg'd up some errour, or perhaps made it, with the help of Counsell digg'd from Hell, *his lipps are as a burning beame* to shew it unto all.

2. *He soweth strife*, (saies the Text) amongst men, namely in publique, by his perversenesse and frowardnesse, and *maketh divisions* among friends

friends in private *by his whiſperings*: or (as was ſaid before) betweene the Prince and his people.

3. *He inticeth his neighbour* into ill wayes with himſelfe, by his cunning inſinuations, or els *by violence* he doth force them to helpe him in acting miſchief. Obſerve *Solomon*'s words in the place, and you ſhall eaſily finde this to be the ſenſe of them; and then ſay whether the Spirit of God doth not moſt notably deſcribe the conditions of our Rebels: I hope none of you will gainſay the Holy Ghoſt ſo much, as to doubt of thoſe being ſuch who have theſe conditions: and indeed mark it alway, your own reading and experience will confirm this truth unto you, that a Rebell is never idle, but is either digging of evill, that is, plotting it, or ſowing of ſtrife; that is, planting it; making breaches, whiſpering lies, calumniating the honeſt, inticing the ſimple, threatning others, doing miſchief one way or other to further his own deſignes, not ſuch a man to be found in the world again for activitie of ſpirit, as a Rebell.

Reaſon. And the ground of this their activity is, that abundance of malice which is in them; now malice is like quickſilver alwayes in motion, and extreame hot, nor is there any grace in them to coole it's fervour, whereas in the beſt men there is ſome Corruption to coole the edge of zeale: againe, guilty men (ſuch as Rebells be) are naked men, and ſuch are alwaies deligent to get cloathing: but they ſeeke it onely from webs of their own weaving. *ſcelere velandum eſſe ſcelus*, is their opinion, one villany muſt hide another: and then too, they are (like men of the plague) deſirous to infect others, to involve them in their own gulphs, their fathers own children they be to an haire, like him they would faine bring all men (if they could) into the ſame condemnation with themſelves.

The Apoſtle *Peter* notes the diligence of the devill that Arch-Rebell, in theſe words of his: *he goes about like a roaring lion, continually ſeeking whom he may devoure*, and in another place by his concatenation of *buſie-bodies*, with *murderers* and *evill doers*, he doth well informe us, that murderers and evill doers, ſuch as the devill and all Rebells be, are alſo *buſie-bodies*: indeed they have nothing but their buſie diligence, to ſupplie their lacke of honeſtie, and to ſupport their wicked cauſe. Satan for his diligence and activitie in evill, is called in the Goſpell *Beelzebub*, a *Flie*, or the God of *Flies*: who (you know know are mightie impudent and buſie creatures, beat them away from to place never ſo oft they will come againe: ſo will he, and ſo will they, he is the great Flie, and they (the Rebels I meane) are his Flies, alwaies ſeeking out ſore places, and making them worſe, nor are they ever wearie of ill doing.

1 *Pet.* 5.

1 *Pet.* 4. 15.

Vſe. Therefore let no man think the better of the Kings enemies, or of their cauſe, for their activitie and diligence in it: will you think the better of the

the devill for his diligence, or of murderers, and evill doers, becauſe alſo they are buſie bodies? ſure you have no reaſon: but ſtrive you in all to be as diligent in good, as they are in evill: be as unmoveable in well doing, as they are in ill doing, as Chriſt our Saviour was, who went up and down doing good, as Satan doth in doing miſchief, was as carefull to ſave, as he is to deſtroy, to gather together the diſperſed, as he and they are to divide and ſcatter abroad.

And ſince the Holy Ghoſt doth ſo clearly note the pains and diligence of rebellious men, do but you in your ſecret thoughts conſider how well the *Kings enemies* (the *men of Weſtminſter* I meane) have apptoved themſelves to be fully ſuch by their caraiages.

Firſt conſider how painfull and diligent they were at firſt, in all places of the Kingdome, to get themſelves choſen to be Members: then how cunning they were to get leave to ſit ſo long as they liſted: then how politike they were to drive from the Houſe all that were not of their own faction: then how ſubtill they were to get the ſtrength and *Militia* of the Kingdom into their own hands: then how impudent they were in working ſuſpicious thoughts in peoples hearts, againſt their loving and religious Soveraigne: and then how induſtrious they were to get the vulgar ingaged with themſelves in their rebellious way: what digging, what ſowing, what whiſpering, what inticing, and what violent waies did, and ſtill do they uſe to perpetuate this Rebellion? But aboveall devices and tricks, one (to my apprehenſion) is the moſt remarkable: when they had ſeized upon the Kings Revenues and his Subſidies (granted to another end,) and had borrowed much money upon the pretended ſale of *Iriſh Lands*, and had collected a great deale more upon preaence to relieve the poore Proteſtants of that Kingdome; after theſe, and manie other purſe-milking ſtratagems, (before they came to downright plunder, and to leavie by way of Exciſe, and to weekly or monethly taxations, they did ſet up for advantage, a certain counterfeit puppet ſtiled *Publique Faith*, who like a wi[illegible] woman (whom they call a witch) did extremelie cozen and cheat the vulgar: for upon her bare word, promiſing repaiment, (and with intereſt too) out of the Eſtates of the Nobilitie and Gentrie with the King, (which were alreadie become of the ſame tenure with *Iriſh lands*, and nearer home,) they (the common people I meane) brought in their plate and money with extreme greedineſſe, whereby they have ſo deeplie ingaged themſelves in the Rebellion with theſe Craftmaſters, that theſe [illegible]ſe-men can and do now urge it upon them, as the ſtrongeſt argument of all, to keep them to themſelves; *All is gone* (ſay they) *and you will be beggers, and never have*

penny

penny of your money againe, unleſſe you hold out unto the laſt: and thus have they digged down many mens eſtates, and dived all the money out of many purſes, & made thouſands of people as deſperate as themſelves.

Nay alas they have digged down the walls of many bodies, and beene occaſions of the ſlaughter of many thouſand men; they have digged down the walls of many of their conſciences, (who are ſtill living) by their execrable oaths and accurſed covenants; nay more then this, they have in a manner digged up the moſt reformed Church in the woorld, by their prophaneneſſe and Atheiſme; and the moſt flouriſhing Commonwealth in Chriſtendome, by their cruelties and combuſtions.

They have digged and ſearched into all the practices of *Hell* and *Rome*, for policies, into the conſpiracies and conditions of *Catiline*, *Sylla*, and *Sejanus*, they have looked into all the actions of *Nero* and *Herod*, into the Schooles of *Machiavel* and the Jeſuites, for tricks and deviſes to further their deſignes: I durſt undertake to evidence ſomewhat of all theſe in their doings. Yea ſo diligent and induſtrious have they been, that they have acted Satans part, in rebelling themſelves, and ſeducing others: *Cains* part in ſlaying and murdering their brethren; *Chams* part in mocking their Father, their common Father: they have acted *Achitophels* part in deviſing deſtruction unto their Soveraigne: *Abſolom* and *Sheba's* part, in lifting up the hand againſt him, *Doegs* part in ſlandering and murdering the Prieſts of God: they have acted *Ieroboams* part in their endeavours to rent the Kingdome from the houſe of *David*, in their defiling the worſhip and ſervice of God, and in their ſetting up to be Prieſts the loweſt and baſeſt of the people: they have acted *Rabſhakehs* part in railing againſt the Lords Annointed, in the hearing of his Subjects, even on purpoſe to ſtirre them up to rebell againſt him: and *Judas* his part in betraying their Maſter, at leaſt in betraying that truſt which he repoſed in them. Well (friends) I ſay but this, doe you conſider ſeriouſly of theſe things, and then judge in your ſecret thoughts, whether the Kings enemies, thoſe *men of Weſtminſter*, be not exceeding diligent and induſtrious Rebels. And ſo I come to the third thing in their diſcription;

3 Their ungodly work, Rebellion, *An evill man ſeeketh Rebellion*; for Rebellion, ſome read *jurgia*, quarrels, ſome read *contradictiones*, or *contentiones*, indeed all theſe tend unto rebellion, ſome read *miſchiefe* or *evill*, for evils and miſchiefs only are proper to procreate and uphold rebellion; and therefore you may obſerve in ſtory, that rebellious men have alwayes heretofore (as well as now) allowed of all evills, Sects, and hereſies, have pulled up the pales of all Lawes, have cried up Liberty,

and

and permitted all kind of villany and wickednesse, as meanes most fitable to further rebellion: the lesson shall be this,

Rebellion is a worke of mischiefe. 3 *Doct.*

Nay 'tis mischiefe it self, wickednesse in the abstract, the highest wickednesse, I have call'd it * elsewhere, and not untruly, the sinke of all villany and the puddle of all sinne; 'tis the breach of all Lawes, and relations both towards God and man, pride, prophanenesse, perjury, envy, wrath malice, theft, murder, cruelty, rapine, spoile, oppression, irreligion, and unnaturallnesse, are all concentred in Rebellion; yea, all sins by all names that sins can be named, and by all meanes that sins can bee committed do follow rebellion, and are to be found among that disordered and disobedient sort of people: I wish, that experience did not teach that Rebellion were the ruine of Religion, Church and Common-wealth, of states, families, and men; 'tis contrary to God in every notion, Hee is the God of *grace*, *peace*, and *order*, but Rebellion is diametrically opposite to all these, it resists grace, it murders peace, and destroies order; I wish (if it were Gods will) there were need for me to prove all these unto you; but alas! alas! your owne eyes and eares are my witnesses in this thing, and shall serve for proofes of this Doctrine. * *Loyal Subjects belief.*

And it must of necessity be so, that rebellion is a worke of mischiefe, for 'tis the work onely of mischievous and evill men, yea of such as have climed up to the very top of wickednesse, and (saies our Saviour) *can a man expect grapes of thornes, and figgs of thistles*, any thing but extreme evill from persons extremely wicked, *tantum malus quærit rebellionem*, onely such men are plotters of Rebellion (saies the Text) no good man will willingly have so much as a finger in it. *Reason.*

No, you'l say, why then are we told that all the good men be on their side, whom you call the Rebells, and the best Preachers, whose Doctrines and lives have been most unblameable, yea our selves know many honest and good men who are ingaged in that way: and we are told also, that none but Papists, Swearers, drunkards, and such like divers are on the Kings side, and we see (God helpe) many of this sort with our owne eyes; wherefore either those you account Rebells are not such, or else your Doctrine is not true. *Object.*

To this I Answer, *Answ.*

1. Those I call Rebells are truly such, for rebellion (as was said before) is a resisting the Authority, and a violent opposing the will and person of the lawfull Governour; and none can deny, but these doe resist the Authority, and violently oppose the will and person of the King, which is the lawfull Governour, therefore they are truly called and counted Rebells.

2. I

2. I anſwer concerning thoſe wicked on this ſide, we will not deny but we have of them too many, and as they are our ſhame, I wiſh alſo they were more our ſorrow; the Lord give them all hearts and grace to amend their conditions, that they may ceaſe at length to diſcredit a religious King, and a righteous Cauſe.

3. For thoſe known good men who are ingaged on the Enemies ſide, I Anſwer, (according to my former diſtinction) *facere malum* is one thing, and *quarere malum* is another; good men through deception may be aſſiſters *in*, but they are not the contrivers *of* this black Rebellion.

4. For thoſe eminent Preachers whoſe diligence in their callings, and commendable lives, have ſo bewitched people, as to thinke well of this rebellious way for their ſakes, becauſe they walke in it, I anſwer; I'le not deny their good gifts, but this I'le ſay, that gifts and grace doe not alway bed together, Satan hath more abilities and gifts then any man: Nor doe I deny their reſtraining graces, but doe confeſſe that many of their lives (like thoſe of the Phariſees in the Goſpell, that loved the praiſe of men) were outwardly very commendable before this Rebellion did begin: But you muſt know that Satans tricke hath alwaies been (when he hath endeavoured, or done moſt miſchiefe to the Church of God) to appeare in the ſhape of an Angell of light; to worke by the perſons of ſuch well reputed men; He that could make uſe of *Peters* tongue to tempt our Saviour, (when Chriſt bad that great Apoſtle, *get thee behind me Satan,*) no doubt but he can and will, and doth make uſe of the tongues and examples of theſe men, to deceive the common people: *Samuel* from the Lord ſaies, that *Rebellion is as the ſinne of witch-craft*, that is, 'tis exceeding apt to entice and bewitch people to it ſelf, by thoſe ſpecious and religious ſhewes which the fomenters of it ſhall make unto the World.

Or perhaps becauſe people did too much adore the abilities of thoſe men, would heare the word onely (for their ſakes) when they preached it; and would look upon their examples more for their imitation, then upon the word it ſelfe for their direction: God as a puniſhment on ſuch people, hath ſuffred thoſe whom they ſo admired, to be the inſtruments to lead them into thoſe of miſery and errour, that others might learne by their harmes afterward, to love men for the words ſake, and to truſt more unto that then unto them.

But (in ſhort) I would have you all conſider but two things out of Scripture, which muſt bee the rule to judge both men and their waies by.

1. Conſider that grace and peace, or truth and peace, goe alway together

together in holy Writ, and what God hath joyned together there, is alwayes joyned in every truly honeſt heart; therefore if you ſee men that do not know, or will not own the way of peace to walk therein, you may well conclude, that they are ſurely out of the paths of truth.

2. Conſider what S. *James* ſaies of ſinfull and heavenly wiſdome; the former he ſaies is *earthly, ſenſuall, divelliſh*, and the fruits of it are *envy, ſtrife, confuſion*, and *every evill worke*: but the other, that *which is from above, is pure, peaceable, gentle, eaſie to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and hypocriſie*: yea, *the fruit of it is righteouſneſſe and peace*; and hereupon do you but judge in your own conſciences whether the courſe which thoſe admired Miniſters take doth ſavour more of that earthly and diabolicall, or of this divine and heavenly wiſdome. *Iam.* 3. 15, 16. &c.

And laſt of all remember, that 'tis ſome comfort to men who have indiſcreetly thruſt themſelves into a mierie way, to have many companions in the ſame, that ſo part of the blame and ſhame might be on them, which els would lie wholly on their own heads: you have heard the Fable of the Fox, who having loſt his own taile, perſwaded other Foxes to cut off their tailes too: faire ptetences indeed he uſed, but his true end was that his own deformity might be leſſe noted: ſuppoſe thoſe Miniſters to be as that Fox, and your ſelves may make the Application, and this ſhall ſerve to anſwer that objection.

Vſe. Let the uſe of the point therefore be to work an hatred in you of rebellion by any means, do not countenance the devils worke, whatever wrongs or injuries are offered to you by either ſide: walk not in the way with theſe evill men; *malum pati malum non eſt, malum facere malum eſt*, 'tis no ſin to ſuffer, but to rebell is the higheſt evill, and will be found to be *malum ſibi* in the end, the ruine of the Rebell: indeed ſome read this Text thus, *Rebellis quærit malum ſuum*, a Rebell ſeeks his own deſtruction; for when a man is once in, he can ſcarce return, or leave off, till he be deſtroyed, as the preſent example of their Brethren of *Scotland* doth ſufficiently declare: they began to ſet foot in this ſinfull way ſome three or foure years ago, and to all honeſt mens thinking, (upon their pardon, and the pacification, and the receipt of ſo much money) they might have been quiet, according to their oath and duty, and ſtirred no more to the moleſtation of their gracious and mercifull King; but we ſee they are returned to their former vomit: Rebellion, as was ſaid before, is called witch-craft, and another reaſon (beſide that already alledged) is becauſe if a man be once intangled in its charmes, he can hardly get free or looſe againe: 'tis no ſmall mercy of God to thoſe men that are come out

from them, who were once of them: O let ſuch offer unto God immortall praiſes.

Part 2. And thus have you ſeen from the former part of the verſe, the enemie diſcovered: I come now to deſcribe the Kings true Souldier, may the Text alſo deſcribes him, by his Office, by his Commiſſion, and by his imployment.

1. By his Office, he is *Nuncius*, a Meſſenger, or *Angelus*, ſo ſome read it, and an Angell is a Meſſenger of God, and ſo is he, being an executioner of Juſtice to puniſh evill; and that ſhall be the leſſon,

Doct. *The Executioners of Juſtice are the Meſſengers of God.*

God is King of all the world, and as by his providence and mercy he preſerves the innocent, ſo by his Angels both good and bad he doth inflict puniſhment upon the wicked; the Devills are his bad Angels to execute his Juſtice upon the damned, and ſo perhaps ſhall the Rebels themſelves be, to lay his vengeance upon ſome of you, who are wicked and ungodly men: for though you be on the right ſide, yet God may ſuffer your perſons to fall by the hands of thoſe men for your own ſins; he uſually ſets one wicked man to puniſh another. But the good Angels alſo are executioners of Gods juſtice at ſome times, it was a good Angell that ſmote the Hoſt of *Sennacherib*, and ſo was that which ſmote *Herod* with wormes, *Act.* 12. ſo in like ſort good men are ſomtimes imployed as inſtruments of juſtice to puniſh the wicked; the Prince or Magiſtrate is the Angell or *Miniſter of God, and carries the ſword for the puniſhment of evill doers*, and ſo are all they who being imployed by him, doe neither abuſe themſelves nor their Authority, of which number are all honeſt martiall men, ſent by the King, Gods Vicegerent; *David* and his men being authorized by *Saul* againſt the Philiſtines, were ſaid to fight Gods battels.

Vſe. I muſt be brief (for the time runs,) wherefore let the uſe of this conſideration be, to perſwade you all, who are men of war, to walk worthy the honour which God hath put upon you; you are his Meſſengers to execute his will, I beſeech you remember that he is an holy God, and holineſſe becomes all his ſervants: you'l think we Miniſters, who are Gods Meſſengers in another kind, ſhould much diſhonour him our Maſter, if we ſhould not live holy lives, but ſhould drink, and ſweare, and commit evill; why be pleaſed to remember, that your ſelves are Meſſengers to the ſame Maſter, and holineſſe is comely in the camp, and is required thereto, as well as in the Church: read at your leiſure in *Deut.* 23. from Verſ. 9. to the 15. Nay believe it, (Gentlemen and Souldiers) your practice of vice and ſin will both diſhonour God, and your ſelves, in that ſervice

wherein

wherein you are imployed; the maine Argument which the Enemies have to keep the people in rebellion in, is, their Declarations to them of the wicked and deboiſt lives of the Cavaliers: O ſay they, do you think ſuch wretched ſwearers, ſuch vicious livers, as the Cavaliers be, are of Gods ſending? will they maintain Chriſtian Religion, that ſhew ſo little of it in their carriages? thus they argue: Indeed I know they vent many of their own fiction, and alſo that they inlarge the faults of ſome upon all, wherein they deale moſt unjuſtly with us, and ſhould we but deal ſo with them, they would (as well they might) exclaime much upon us. Becauſe one of them was lately taken in the act and hang'd for the ſin of Buggerie, here in this Town, if we Preachers ſhould hereupon tell you from the Pulpits, that all theſe bleſſed Reformers, (for ſo they are called by their adorers) are even ſuch men, and guiltie of that horrid ſin, I believe (for my part) we ſhould much abuſe them in that particular; and yet thus divers of their Miniſters are pleaſed to deale with the Kings Friends: the Lord in his good time rebuke them for it.

But alas! (gallant Gentlemen and Chriſtian people) you all know that there are too great, and too manie occaſions given by ſome amongſt us to our enemies to report evill of us: I beſeech you therefore in the feare of God, as manie of you are better borne and bred then thoſe are who do accuſe you, and as all of you are imploied in a more righteous cauſe then they, by your holie God, and by your religious King, ſo that you would all indeavour to be more holie in your carriages then they be, to walk worthie your imploiment: and you that be Commanders, (I beg of you, that you would more ſtrictlie puniſh ſin in thoſe that are under you, according to thoſe Militarie Orders ſet forth by His ſacred Majeſties your religious Maſter.

The profeſſion of a Souldier, as 'tis honourable, ſo it may be holie if you pleaſe; we read of holie men of that profeſſion: *David* was a man of warre, and did (as you do) fight the *Battailes of the Lord*, and he was an holie man; that great ſin which did ſo blemiſh his reputation, was committed by him afterward, when he had left off to follow the Camp: the Centurion in the Goſpell was a man of your profeſſion, and our Saviour himſelf gives this teſtimonie of him, *that he had not found his like* (for goodneſſe) *in all Iſrael*: and ſo that Captain *Acts* 10. *was one that feared God with all his houſhold, and whoſe prayers and almes aſcended daily into Gods preſence*. *Abraham* himſelfe the Father of the faithfull, was a brave Souldier; he with the number of 318. aſſaulted five Kings with their Armies, vanquiſhed them, and took the ſpoile: you may read the ſtorie in the 14. Chapter of *Geneſis*, where you may

alſo ſee, who were the firſt men whom the Scripture notes, did run away in the day of battell, and hid themſelves, I do not ſay in Saw-pits, but the Text ſaies, *in Slime-pits*, they were men full of guilt and ſin, even the Princes of *Sodom*, and Gentlemen of *Gomorrah*.

Nay to ſpeak all that can be ſaid in one word, for the honour and comfort of a Souldier; God himſelfe is called a man of warre, *Exod.* 15. 3. *The Lord is a man of Warre, and* IEHOVAH *is his Name.*

I tell you (Gentlemen) there is not to an honeſt eye in theſe ſad and diſmall daies, a more gallant ſight, then a valiant and religious Souldier; Religion cauſeth courage in a good cauſe, and giveth an high luſtre to it, eſpecially in men of birth and place: what true Engliſh heart is not warm'd with joy to ſee the living flames of ancient valour conjoined with generous minds in Gentile bloud? but if thereto be alſo annex'd Religion, I dare ſay, to a truſie pious loyall eye the Sun it ſelfe is not more glorious.

Gentlemen, your enemies call you Cavaliers, a name, as they take it, of great reproach (els you may be ſure they would not call you by it) will you give me leave in briefe, to give you your owne Character; or at leaſt the Character of ſuch a man as everie of you ought to be, and as we your friends and ſervants in Chriſt deſire to conceive of you: why liſten to it, 'tis this:

A complete Cavalier is a Child of Honour, a Gentleman well borne and bred; that loves his King for conſcience ſake, of a clearer countenance and bolder looke then other men, becauſe of a more loyall heart: He dares neither oppoſe his Princes will, nor yet diſgrace his righteous cauſe, by his carriage or expreſſions: He is furniſhed with the qualities of Piety, Prudence, Iuſtice, Liberality, Goodneſſe, Honeſty; He is amiable in his behaviour, couragious in his undertakings, diſcreet and gallant in all his executions: he is throughly ſenſible of the leaſt wrong that is offered to his Soveraigne, and is a profeſſed enemy to all Rebells: the aimes of his ſword are onely to diſſever the malignity of thoſe forces that have conſpired the ruine of Monarchy and Innocency: he feares no evill thing to come upon himſelfe, but contemns all dangers that look towards him: he dares accept of deaths challenge to meet it in the field, and yet can embrace it as a ſpeciall friend when it comes into his chamber, where he is alwayes making proviſion for its better entertainment: in a word, he is the onely Reſerve of Engliſh Gentility and ancient valour, and hath rather choſe to burie himſelfe in the Tombe of Honour, then to ſee the Nobility of his Nation vaſſalaged, the Dignity of his Countrey captivated by any baſe domeſticke enemy, or by any forraigne fore-conquered foe.

This

This is a compleat Cavalier, and if any of you be not according to this Character, believe me you are not right, nor the men you ought to be: And so much (Gentlemen) for the first particular in your description.

I come to the second, and that is your Commission in the word *sent: shall be sent*: namely by him who hath power from God to send, and that is only the King, or Supreme Magistrate all the Commissions which God grants to Souldiers, are signed by the Kings hand, who is (as *Moses* was) *the mouth of God* unto his Subjects, in things of this nature, and such a Commission so signed, doth constitute a lawfull Souldier: the Lesson is this:

A right Commission makes a lawfull Souldier. 5 *Doct.*

Yea, a right Commission makes the Warre it self lawfull to the Souldier, although it were undertaken by the Prince upon unjust grounds: for the Subjects duty is, to mind his owne call rather then the Cause, for though in matters of Religion, we disclaime and abhorre the Doctrine of blind obedience, yet in matters of State, and order, wee professe allowance of it; *qua supra nos, nihil ad nos*, things above us, belong not to us: if we pry into the reason of Princes undertakings, we may prove our selves to be the Busie-bodies, whom (as we noted before) the Apostle yoakes with murderers, and evill doers: And I thinke these times doe sufficiently declare the due concatention of these conditions: But as I was saying, though the Justice of the Kings Cause, (which is as cleare as the Sun to all, unlesse to those that are given up to blindnesse, and to believe lies:) were not so manifest and apparent, nay were it an unjust cause on the Kings part, yet were it not so to those Souldiers that are authorized by him; for according to the point, *a right Commission makes a right Souldier*: and that cannot be given by any, nor derived from any, but the King. 1 *Pet.* 4. 15.

This truth doth more stownd the Rebells, and more puzzell them, then any one that I know; and therefore to perswade their followers that themselves can give a right Commission, they are faine to deny the King to be the Supreme Magistrate, cleane contrary to the testimony of Scripture, 1 *Pet.* 2. 13, (where the King is called the Supreme) and like him who chose himself Pope, they are so bold as to say; the Supreme Authority is seated in themselves, which is such a transcendent fancy, that all the Traitors in the world (that I read of) durst never vent it, till these late: But being driven to so great a streight, that they must of necessity either yield their warre to be unlawfull, for want of a right Commission; or else thus exalt themselves above him that is called God, this second course being the more Antichristian and furthest from the

ctice of ſelf-deniall, they have made choice of: But let them fancy what they pleaſe; indeed, and in truth, were they never ſo honeſt men for life and converſation, (and were the Cavaliers never ſo vile, or ſo abhominable,) yet the warre on their ſide is utterly unlawfull, for want of a right Commiſſion, they are not ſent, or authorized hereunto by the King, they are therefore no other then ranke murderers of all thoſe they kill and deſtroy, and all the blood ſhed by them, is no other then innocent blood: As God ſaies of rebellious *Edom:* (who without any authority, or command from God, did joine with the *Caldeans*, againſt the people of Iſraell, unto whom (as being Subjects) they ought to have lived in obedience) *Ioel* 3. 19. *that they had ſhed innocent blood in the Land:* Though Iſraels blood was guilty blood, in reſpect of the Lord, againſt whom they had ſinned, and in reſpect of the *Caldeans* too, whom God imployed as his inſtruments to puniſh them; yet in reſpect of the *Edomites*, that had no Commiſſion to go about any ſuch buſineſſe, it was innocent blood, and as ſhedders of innocent blood they are threatned to be puniſhed: *Edom ſhall become as a deſolate Wilderneſſe*, for that very thing, ſaies that Text.

This may ſerve to ſtirre up you, who are rightly authorized to be courageous, in the Execution of your charge: all the incouragement which the Rebells your Enemies have againſt you, and againſt the King, is from the evill lives of ſome of you, (who are the Kings Souldiers:) but you have to animate you, againſt them in their way, not onely their ill lives, but alſo their ill Cauſe, and their lacke of a lawfull Warrant; And moſt eſpecially of all, you have the Juſtice of your own Cauſe, the lawfullneſſe of your owne call, and to theſe I may adde the goodneſſe of your King.

1. *Your Cauſe* is to defend him, whom God hath exalted, to keepe the King in the Throne wherein God hath ſet him, againſt thoſe that would remove him from it; 'tis to maintaine Religion, the Lawes and Dignity of your Nation, and to ſuppreſſe Rebellion that Child of Hell, that Parent and Nurſe of all Miſchiefe.

2. *Your Call*, 'tis lawfull from the Prince himſelf, the Supreme Magiſtrate under God in his Dominion, who alone (as *Auſtine contra Fauſtum* ſpeakes) hath power to wage Warre, and to authorize them that are Agents in the ſame: whereas thoſe whom you do oppoſe, as their cauſe lacks honeſty, ſo do they themſelves lacke a Warrant to maintaine it; and having no Call they cannot (upon any good ground) look for Gods bleſſing.

3. *The goodneſſe of your King*; A Prince of that untainted life, of that

that religious diſpoſition, that 'tis the greateſt vexation the Rebels have, that they cannot faſten guilt upon him: but onely becauſe themſelves have belied him; and here *Solomon* is ſo much their friend, as to ſpeake a reaſon for them, *Prov.* 26.28. *A lying tongue hateth him that is afflicted by it*:

Nay let me adde for your incouragement as you are Chriſtians: your King is a man that lives by Faith; He doth oft acknowledge in his pious expreſſions, what ever yet hath been done for him (by yours or others hands,) to be a fruit of divine favour; and from what he hath taſted, he is ſtill confident according to Gods promiſe of divine aſſiſtance: I may ſpeake of him, (as *Ambroſe* of S. *Auſtine*,) with a little variation of the words, *impoſſibile eſt Principem tantæ fidei ac pietatis perire*. 'tis impoſſible but a Prince of ſuch faith and piety ſhould at laſt prevaile over all his enemies.

And ſo I come to the laſt particular of all, in your deſcription, and that is your imployment; to inflict ſharpe puniſhment upon rebellious men, noted in the word *Crudelis* or ἀνάγγελος, a Meſſenger without bowells, ſo call'd from the ſeverity he ſhall uſe againſt the Enemy; Hee ſhall be inexorable, and not abate one jot of the puniſhment that he is commanded to inflict: 3.

By this Cruell Meſſenger ſome Interpreters underſtand; Satan, or ſome other inſtrument of wrath, who without all compaſſion ſhall undoubtedly in the end plague rebellious men: ſome hereby underſtand the conſcience of a Rebell: which like a Cruell Meſſenger, ſhall meet him at every turne, and ſcourge and laſh him, (and oh that this Meſſenger were but once awakened, and ſet upon our Rebells, that their Conſciences did but ſtorme them!) ſome interpret the words thus, He that rebells againſt a loving and kind Governour, ſhall fall into the hands of one that is ſevere, who like a cruell Meſſenger of God, ſhall throughly pay him for his diſobedience; or ſome will have it thus, the ſame Prince that formerly uſed him with humanity and like a Lambe, ſhall put on the diſpoſition of a Lion, and deale with him according to his deſerts: we read in Scripture of the *wrath of a Lambe*, or of the Lambe Chriſt Jeſus himſelfe who ſhall turne a Lyon, and ſay, *thoſe mine enemies that would not I ſhould reigne over them, bring them and ſlay them before me*: *Patientia læſa fit furor*, Patience abuſed turnes into wrath: But interpret or read the words how we will, the ſence is this, Rebellious men ſhall be grievouſly puniſhed, a ſharpe puniſhment remaineth for the workers of this Iniquity, or to the ſeekers of Rebellion. The Leſſon ſhall bee in theſe words.

Severe

Severe puniſhment is the aſſured portion of Rebellious men.

I could evidence and affirme this truth many waies, as,

1. By the exemplarie puniſhment of Rebells in all ages; I could tell you how the earth ſwallowed up *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, (who rebelled againſt *Moſes* and *Aron*) together with their Wives, Children, and Subſtance; a typicall Leſſon (no doubt) it was to teach all after Ages, that utter extirpation is the due portion allotted of God unto ſuch men.

I could tell you how an halter catched *Achitophell*, and a tree *Abſolom*; how *Shebae*'s head was ſevered from his body, and how *Bigtan* and *Tereſh* ſuffred death for having an ill purpoſe againſt the King, and how that puniſhment of theirs is recorded in Scripture, as ordained and allowed of God; I could tell you alſo of *Ieroboam*, and all the ſucceeding Kings of *Iſrael*, that begun and continued the revolt from the houſe of *David*, how there was not one good man of all the number; and how they and the people that adhered to them, by hereſie, idolatrie, prophaneſſe, and villany, grew worſe and worſe (as being *alwaies* attended with Gods curſe for their Rebellion,) till they were carried away God knowes whither, no man can tell what became of them to this day: I could alſo tell you out of your owne Chronicles the fearfull and diſmall ends of thoſe (together with their families) who have oppoſed their Soveraigne in former ages, but the time will not permit.

2. I could aſſure the downfall of the Rebells, as they are men delighting in Warre, from *Pſal.* 68. 30. *Rebuke the company of the ſpeare-men, the multitude of the Bulls, with the Calves of the people, till every one ſubmit himſelf with pieces of Silver, ſcatter thou the people that delight in warre*: It is a rule in Divinity that a propheticall prayer is of the nature of a propheſie: Rebuke thou ô Lord, is as much, as the Lord will ſcatter: now by the *ſpeare-men*, in that verſe, you may underſtand thoſe degenerate Gentlemen that have lifted up the hand againſt their Soveraigne, or have conſulted in this Rebellion: by the *multitude of Bulls*, you may underſtand the rich fat Citizens, who by their wealth and money have adminiſtred ſtrength to this Rebellion: and by *Calves of the people*, you may underſtand thoſe Country folk, that came bleating up to *London*, (from the adjoining Counties) with their Petitions againſt the preſent-eſtabliſhed Government; all theſe, or all ſuch as theſe, ſhall bee *rebuked by the Lord* (as the Pſalmiſt teacheth) and made to *ſubmit themſelves with pieces of ſilver*, they ſhall be glad to offer money, for the ranſome of their lives, even becauſe they are *a people that delight in warre*, and they that will not do ſo, ſhall be *ſcattered*, and blowne away, as duſt is before the wind.

3. I

3. I could prove that an heavy woe is belonging to these Enemies of the King, as they are spoilers and treacherous persons, from that place *Esay*.33. 1. *Woe unto thee that spoiledst when thou wert not spoiled: and to thee that didst deale trecherously, when they did not deale treacherously with thee, when thou shalt cease to spoile thou shalt be spoiled, and when thou shalt cease to deale treacherously, others shall deale treacherously with thee:* This is *verbum Domini* the word of the Lord, and *manet in æternum*, 'tis an eternall truth; in all ages it hath beene made good, and so for ever shall be, upon all those, unto whomsoever it is appliable.

4. I could pormise their assured punishment, as they are bloudy and deceitfull men, from *Psalm*.5.6. where 'tis said, that *God shall destroy them that speak leasing, the Lords abhorres the bloudy and deceitfull man,* and Psal.55.23. 'tis concluded hhat *bloudy and deceitfull men shall not live out halfe their daies:* And I thinke none can denie that the Kings Enemies whom you are to oppose are such persons: they have practised nothing hitherto but deceit and lies, under the cloake of Piety; and they breath forth nothing but warre and bloud, *Kill, Slay*, and *Destroy*, hath been their language a long time, and the way of peace they will not own.

But Ile take these men only in the notion of Rebells, to evidence their assured ruine; for in that respect they are the people of Gods curse, the Lord himselfe doth so call them *Esay* 34 5. *My sword* (saith he) *shall be bathed in heaven, behold it shall come downe upon Idumea, upon the people of my Curse to judgement.* The *Idumeans* were the *Edomites* or childen of *Esau*, they are called the *people of Gods curse*, for they were Rebells against the people of Israel, unto whom in *Iacob* the superiority over them was given, and by *David* seized upon: and we may doubtlesse conclude that all such Rebells are in the very same condition, the people of Gods curse as well as they. *Gen.*27 29. 37. 1 *Chro.* 18. 13.

Now what conditioned Rebells these *Edomites* were, we shall more fully see in the 35 of *Ezekiel*, where also God vowes their destruction. *Ezek.* 35.6, 7, 8, 9, &c.

As I live (saith the Lord God) *I will prepare thee unto bloud, and bloud shall pursue thee: sith thou hast not hated bloud, even vengeance shall pursue thee: thus will I make Mount Seir most desolate, and cut off from it him that passeth out, and him that returneth: And I will fill his Mountaines with his slaine men, in thy hills and in thy valleys, and in all thy rivers shall they fall, that are slaine with the sword, I will make thee perpetuall dislations, And thy Cities shall not returne, and ye shall know that I am the Lord, because thou hast said these two Nations and these two Countries* (namely of Israel and Iudah) *shall be mine, and we will possesse them.—Therefore as I live saith the Lord God, I will even do according*

to thine anger, and according to thine envy which thou haſt uſed out of thine hatred againſt them; and I will make my ſelfe knowne amongſt them when I have judged thee, &c.

In all which words of the Prophet, beſide the certainty of *Edoms* ruine evidenced by the oath of God twice over, *as I live*, obſerve theſe their conditions:

1. *They did not hate bloud*, they delighted to make themſelves inſtruments of wrath when they had no call thereto, God did at ſundry times puniſh the *Iſraelites* by all their neighbour Nations, by the *Egyptians*, *Moabites*, *Midianites*, *Philiſtims*, and the reſt, but never by the *Edomites*, theſe were alwaies voluntiers in wars againſt *Iſrael*, never imploied by the Lord in that buſineſſe, for they were brethren to the *Iſraelites*, (being the children of *Eſau Iacobs* brother) and they were to live in obedience to them by Gods ordination diſpoſing the ſuperioritie to *Iacob* and his ſeed, and 'tis not Gods Cuſtome to ſet Brethren at odds, one againſt another, or Subjects againſt their Soveraignes; the God of nature and order, is no breaker of natures bonds, or of his own Laws: that is Satans work rather the father of diviſions, ſo that the *Edomites* were Rebells, unnaturall and bloudy Rebels, *they did not hate bloud.*

2. They were alſo ſacrilegious and covetous rebels, they were the *Edomites* that cryed out againſt the Temple, (as ſome do now againſt Churches) *down with it down with it even to the ground*, and they were theſe, that ſwallowed up in their expectation the eſtates of *Iſrael* and *Iuda*, (after that manner as the *men of Weſtminſter* with their Abettors, do the Inheritances of the Lords and Gentlemen that are with his Majeſty) they ſaid, *theſe two Nations ſhall be ours*: which is a ſin mightily provokeing God to wrath and jealouſie, *the fire of my jealouſie* (ſaies he *Ezekiel* 36. 5.) *is againſt the Idumeans, becauſe they have* (in their own thoughts) *appointed my land* (for the land beſtowed by my providence upon ſuch men) *unto their owne poſſeſſion, as a prey unto themſelves, with the joy of their hearts and with deſpightfull mindes.*

3. Obſerve that God (in puniſhing wicked Rebells,) doth obſerve the law of retaliation (as 'tis lawfull for the King (Gods Vicegerent) to do in caſes of like nature:) becauſe they were men of bloud, therefore they ſhall meet with bloud, *becauſe thou haſt not hated bloud* (ſaith the Lord) *even bloud ſhall purſue thee*, and againe, I *will even do to thee, according to thine anger, and envy unto them*, as if he had ſaid, I will enable them, whom thou didſt hate and envy, and whoſe Lands and revenues thou didſt covet, to deale ſo with thee, as thou in the diſpightfulneſſe of thine heart didſt purpoſe and reſolve to deale with them.

And

And indeed you may obſerve (by the way,) that though God doth not uſually imploy his owne people as inſtruments of wrath to puniſh, but rather of mercy to comfort, yet he imploied *Iſrael* in ſpeciall to puniſh *Edom*: ſee *Ezek.* 25. 12,14. *Becauſe Edom hath dealt againſt the houſe of Iudah,* (unbidden) *and hath taken vengeance,* (for ſome conceived wrongs.) *and hath greatly offended, and revenged himſelf upon them,* (whereas being their brethren and ſuperious, they ſhould rather (if wronged by them) have referred the ſame to God:) *therefore* (ſaies the Lord) *I will ſtretch out my hand againſt Edom. And I will lay my vengeance upon Edom by the hand of my people Iſrael, and they ſhall do in Edom, according to mine anger, and according to my fury, and they ſhall know my vengeance, ſaith the Lord God:* and the reaſons of this are,

1. Becauſe 'tis according to the courſe of ordinary Providence, to puniſh Rebellious Subjects, by their owne Princes, againſt whom they do rebell.

2. Becauſe 'tis according to ordinary Juſtice, that they who injuriouſly encroach upon other mens rights, ſhould forfeit their owne, (as a puniſhment for their injuſtice) to theſe very perſons; *qui invadunt aliena merentur perdere ſua,* and therefore 'tis ſaid by *Obediah,* that *the houſe of Iacob ſhall be a fire, and the Houſe of Ioſeph a flame, and the Houſe of Eſau for Stubble, and they ſhall kindle in them, and devoure them, yea they ſhall poſſeſſe their poſſeſſions, even the mount of Eſau, and Saviours ſhall come out of mount Sion to judge the mount of Eſau.* The application of theſe things I leave to your ſelves.

4. There is one thing more that I would have you obſerve from that place before quoted, *Ezek.* 35. the laſt words, where God tells *Edom,* that he will make himſelf known amongſt Iſrael, by his judgements upon him: *I will make my ſelf knowne among them when I have judged thee:* for indeed God was not knowne or acknowledged before, as he ought to have been among them: the Iſraelites were growne a moſt deboiſh'd, prophane, impudent, and ungodly people (the major part of them,) which made the Lord give them up to be puniſhed by the *Chaldeans*: but by his giving into his Iſraels hands, the rebellious, bloody, treacherous *Edomites,* (who had no call nor cauſe to warre upon them, or to joine with the *Chaldeans* againſt them;) the Lord did meane ſo to gaine upon their hearts and ſpirits, that they ſhould learne thereby to know him truly, and for after times to ſerve him (better then ever they had done before) in humility and holineſſe.

And truly (friends) I have an hope that when the great and mighty God ſhall have ſubdued under your power theſe *Edomites* our Enemies,

who are ſo full of ſpight, and ſo thirſty after blood, and ſhall have brought on their heads, what themſelves did purpoſe againſt others; you will all gaine more knowledge of God, and ſerve, feare, honour and obey him in holineſſe, and righteouſneſſe, more then ever you yet did in all your lives, the Lord ſanctifie the obſervance of his judgements ſo unto you that you may. And thus have you ſeen the certainty, and in part the ſeverity of the Judgement which ſhall be executed upon Rebells evidenced.

Now if you demand the Reaſon why the God of mercie and bowels ſhould be ſo ſevere

Reaſon. I anſwer, 'tis no ſuch ſeverity in God, to beat men with their owne rods, to do to them according as they determined to do to others, beſide 'tis but equity and juſtice to proportionate puniſhment in weight and meaſure, according to the height or weight of ſin: But there is no ſuch ſin as Rebellion, this is *ingens & ſupremum ſcelus*, the moſt huge and higheſt ſin, and therefore doth merit the ſharpeſt and ſureſt puniſhment: Rebellion is a ſinne that ſtrikes at Gods owne ſelf, at the face of Majeſtie: there is no ſuch expreſſe Image of God in the world, as a King is; every Chriſtian is the Image of Chriſt as man, every Miniſter of the Goſpell is (or ought to be) the Image of Chriſt as Mediator, but a King is the Image of Chriſt as God, and to rebell againſt a King is to ſtrike at the face of Chriſt as God; which was more then they that crucified him
1 *Cor.* 2. 8. durſt dare to do, *for had they knowne* (ſaies the great Apoſtle) *they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory*: therefore no marvaile if a cruell meſſenger be ſent againſt a Rebell, if ſevere and ſharpe puniſhment be the proper portion of ſuch men.

Vſe. Perhaps now you expect that by way of uſe, I ſhould ſtir you up to be cruell: But (noble Gentlemen and Souldiers:) If I ſhould do ſo, I ſhould forget my ſelf to be a Miniſter of the Prince of mercie, and to be a Subject of a moſt mercifull King, whoſe meeke and gentle Spirit, as we all honour and admire, ſo ſhould we ſtrive to imitate. And I bleſſe God for it, I could never yet ſpeake that language of *Kill*, *Slay*, *and Deſtroy*, which the Miniſters of the Rebells ſide are ſo skilfull in; I durſt never excite men to fight up to the back in blood; the ſpirit of the Goſpell is no bloody ſpirit; *We* (ſaies the Apoſtle, ſpeaking of himſelf, and all true Miniſters) *have the mind of Chriſt*, which endeavoured the ſalvation, not deſtruction of men; wherefore I beſeech you give mee leave (as the Miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt, for your ſouls good,) to propound a few ſuch particulars to your conſideration and remembrance, as ſhall tend both to your preſent honour, and to your everlaſting peace.

I am

I am confident (through the ſtrength and goodneſſe of God) that theſe rebellious enemies of the King, whom you oppoſe, (notwithſtanding their height of pride, and their ſtudie to be auke, croſſe, perverſe, and peeviſh, and to vex the ſpirit of a mild, and gracious King, notwithſtanding their multitude of Armes and men, and their diligence in their way) ſhall ere long, (if your ſinfull and unſutable carriages do not hinder,) be brought to beg their lives at your hands, and at that time I pray remember.

1. That though it be true Gallantry, and nobleneſſe of ſpirit, to bee fierce and couragious in the Battaile, yet 'tis no true valour to ſet your foot too hard upon the neck of a fallen foe, that beggs your mercy; the generous Lion ſcornes to exerciſe his fury upon an enemy that's proſtrate before him: I would have the Kings men do nothing but what is Kingly, let Rebells practice baſeneſſe, it beſt becomes them: Beſide the Scripture ſaies, that *mercy pleaſeth God*; and in that, we are bidden to be like him, who in the midſt of judgement remembers mercie: *Be yee mercifull as your heavenly Father is mercifull*, for (as in another place) *there ſhall be judgement mercileſſe to them that ſhew no mercy:* as men do to others, ſo ſhall it be done to them.

2. Remember to diſtinguiſh between *quærentes & facientes malum*, the plotters and contrivers of, or the leaders in this Rebellion, and they that by ſeduction onely are drawne into it; between your ſturdy Rebels and thoſe that by a kind of inforcement are made to take their parts: the Text ſpeaks only of the former, that ſeveritie is to be uſed againſt them, which if it be, men may call it cruelty if they pleaſe, but 'tis juſtice rather, and the prevention of miſchief and cruelty, for as ſuch have been meanes alreadie to undoe and murder many by leading them into paths of death, ſo if they ſhould continue they would deſtroy more.

3. Remember I pray to ſhew reſpect to Women, Children, and aged perſons, to the firſt in regard of the weakneſſe of their Sex; to the ſecond ſort, in regard of the minority of their yeares, and to the latter ſort, in regard of their gray haires: 'tis ſaid of the barbatous Chaldeans, 2 *Chron.* 36. 17. *That they had no compaſſion on the young Children, on the Maiden, or on the old man, on him that ſtooped for age*, indeed though God did deliver the nation into their hands to puniſh, yet he looked they ſhould have ſhowne ſome pittie on ſuch as theſe, and becauſe they did not, he threatned to puniſh them; *Eſai.* 47. 6. *O Daughter of Chaldea, I was wrath with Iſrael, and I gave them into thy hand, and thou didſt ſhew them no mercie, but upon the ancient thou didſt lay very heavily the yoke, therefore* (v. 9.) *theſe two things ſhall come upon thee, in one day, loſſe of Children and widdow-hood.*

4. Remember for the honour of your King and Cauſe, and for your own inward peace, and outward credit ſake, that you neither do, nor (ſo much as in you lieth) ſuffer to be done, in coole blood, to the moſt impious Rebels, any thing that ſavours of immodeſtie, barbarouſneſſe, or inhumanitie. To uncloath men and women of their garments, and to expoſe their nakednesſe to open view, as the enemies did in Ireland, is moſt immodeſt, and offenſive to God and all good men: to be an houre or two in hacking and torturing a wofull wretch, or in taking away that miſerable life which might be concluded in a moment; or to wreak ones furie upon a dead carkas, is a moſt barbarous, cowardly thing, and odious to God, though offered to an *Edomite*, as appears by that his threat unto the *Moabites*, for their *burning the bones of the King of Edom to lime*, *Amos* 2.1. ſo to uſe reviling ſpeeches, and curſed execrations, againſt them that are readie to die, or are in going out of the world, full of wounds and paines, is moſt inhumane: nay 'tis plainly diabolicall to inſult over men in miſerie, be they never ſo vile, never ſuch wretched enemies.

The ancient Romans (the braveſt Souldiers in the world) were carefull to abſteine from all kinde of harſh words in ſuch caſes, (as *kill him, hang him, knocke him down, rogue, villain*, or the like:) as alſo from all kind of barbarouſneſſe and inhumanitie in their executions, for they ſaid they acknowledged their enemies to be men, not Tigers: *Metius Suffetius* was drawn in pieces with foure horſes for his Treaſon, from which (as a ſpectacle of great horrour) the people turned their eyes. The ſtorie ſayes, as it was the firſt, ſo it was the laſt puniſhment in this kind of rigour that was exerciſed amongſt them; for *nulli gentium minores plaeuiſſe pœnas* (ſaies *Titus Livius* of them,) no Nation ſo carefull to preſerve the reputation of humanity as they: Be you alſo carefull (noble Gentlemen and Spuldiers) to abſtein from all ſuch unworthy conditions: object not, that the enemies deal ſo ſhamefully with our men, when they get them into their power, for I'le aſſure you, baſeneſſe doth better become them, and their cauſe, then ever it will become you.

5. Take heed you do not do any thing againſt the enemies out of your own private hatred: remember that you are the Kings men, and your enemies are the Kings enemies, and them you are to oppoſe as ſuch, and as the enemies of your Countrey: even in battaile it ſelf, you muſt ſtrike and ſhoot as at the common foe, let God direct the bullet or arrow as it pleaſeth him, as he did that which being ſhot at a venture ſlew *Ahab*, and then 'tis God, and not man that killeth: for to levell at any knowne men, or to purſue any out of particular malice, may be found murder in Gods account at the great day. The Lord threatens to execute great ven

geance-

geance upon the *Philiſtines* with furious rebukes, *becauſe* (ſaies the Text) *thou didſt take vengeance upon thine enemies with a deſpightfull heart, for the old hatred, and private grudge that was betwixt you.* *Ezek.* 25. 15, 16. Though God imploys men as his inſtruments to puniſh the publike enemies of Church and State, yet never to revenge themſelves: he never gave any man a Commiſſion to do this, he would have us all to referre ſuch wrongs to him.

6. Remember what ever you do, you do it with a publike ſpirit, and do it valiantly, and in that manner as may no whit diſcredit the Kings cauſe, or blemiſh your own reputation, nor occaſion griefe to your ſpirits afterward: and to this end remember the graciouſneſſe of the Kings ſpirit and diſpoſition, how he hath hitherto looked upon the vileſt of them all with an eye of pitie: and look you to your Commiſſion (which you have from His Majeſtie,) which (let the enemies bawle never ſo,) is far more mild then they deſerve it ſhould be: and remember too, that though they have by their actions renounced the Doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, and offered deſpight to the patient, obedient, and peaceable ſpirit of the Goſpell, and have forgotten you to be their brethren, of the ſame nation, and of the ſame Religion too, which themſelves profeſſed foure years ago, and do, in their Turkiſh charity, call you nothing but Dogs, Popiſh Dogs: yet be not you like them, but yeeld them ſtill to be your Brethren, though rebellious and degenerate, and approve your ſelves towards them to be Chriſtians.

And theſe be the Mementoes which as Gods Miniſter I do here propound unto you, yea which I do in the name of God charge upon you.

But perhaps ſome of you will ſay, if we ſhould follow this Counſell, how ſhall we make your Text good, and approve our ſelves cruell meſſengers? *Object.*

I anſwer, that the Text is rather a Declaration then a precept, it doth not command you to be cruell, but doth declare that a Rebell ſhall meet with crueltie, *i.e.* with ſure and ſharp puniſhment, and when ſuch a one doth meet with ſuch a portion, who ever be the inflicter of it, we are taught by the Text to conclude, that 'tis ſent him of God: and indeed do what we can, there are wicked men enow in an Armie, who will extend their furie even to crueltie, which when we have obſerved, we may ſee Gods hand therein againſt the Rebels: though I confeſſe this too, that ſomtime God hath (in their heat of bloud) infuſed into good and holy men a certain ſpirit, which hath appeared as a cruell ſpirit; for example, ſuch was that which ſhew'd it ſelf in *David*, when the Citie *Rabbah* of the Ammonites was taken: *He put the people under Sawes* *Anſw.*

and

and Harrowes of iron, and axes of iron, and made them passe through the Brick-kilne. Now I say when by the effects we see such a spirit in any, we are to note the hand of God therein.

But here let me advise you of one necessarie thing from the Text, *A cruell messenger shall be sent against him, scil.* against the rebellious man: your severitie therefore must be onelie against such, and not against anie of the Kings loyall and good subjects, that bed you, and board you, and give you house-roome for your selves and horses: 'tis the custome of too many (but I affirm they are no true Gentlemen, no true Cavaliers,) when they have had free quarter in a place, and perhaps have devoured up all the provision in the house, then to requite their Landlord with robbing and plundering him of his houshold commodities, or els threaten so to do, unlesse he will give them money to forbeare: O these carriages do speak such men to be sent rather to make the King enemies, then to rid him of his enemies: but, Gentlemen and Souldiers, if you acknowledge your selves the Kings Messengers, remember your imployment according to your Commission, is to punish rebels, and not to abuse good Subjects. And in your actions against the Rebels, I can, from the Text, excite you to be couragious: for they being such as they be, the people of Gods curse, and you having the Kings Commission, and fighting in defence of his sacred Person, Crown and dignity against them; what ever bloud of theirs you shed in battell, is not innocent bloud, but as guiltie bloud as ever was shed by Christians in a just warre since the beginning of Christianity: for concerning the heads of this Rebellion, the *men of Westminster*, or the faction there, who to vex their religious King, have bestowed their best care to lose *Ireland*, to give away *Scotland*, and to destroy *England*: these men, I say, together with their bloud-thirstie Chaplains, by whose venemous tongues they belch out so much blasphemie, treason, and crueltie, against God, the King, and the Kings people: and by whose witcherie and specious pretences, they have conjured so manie of the poore vulgar into their desperate and destructive circles: if ever any combination of men upon earth, since the Scribes and Pharisees of Christs time did sin the sin against the Holy Ghost, I feare these are they: for they do knowingly resist the doctrine of Gods Word and Spirit, and studiously oppose the light of their own consciences and former professions. How often have they charged it upon His sacred Majestie to intend that mischiefe which themselves were in practice of, and in plotting to performe? How have they hood-winked the poore Commonaltie of *England*, with suspitions of the Kings calling in Forraigners to invade the Land, and of aiming to

destroy

deſtroy the Priviledges of Parliament, and Liberty of the Subject, till themſelves have effected the very ſame things?

What peeviſh conſtructions have they made of all His Majeſties moſt honeſt and candid expreſſions? How have they ſtudied moſt irreligiouſly to thwart him in all his pious and peaceable deſires? all this doth plainly ſpeak to every diſcerning eye, that their labours are, againſt their owne conſciences, to grieve the Holy Ghoſt in the boſome of Gods Annointed.

Nay let every man judge of their ſpirits, and of the nature of their ſin by two things in particular.

1. By their forcing their late Oath and Covenant upon people; whereas themſelves did moſt highly condemne and oppoſe that new Oath made by the Convocation ſome five yeares ago, to be taken by the Clergie, as moſt ungodly, unreaſonable, and illegall; affirming that the proceedings in the urging thereof were too extremely violent, and the penaltie annexed thereto upon the refuſall thereof was too cruell: and many arguments (ſpecially thoſe called the *London Quares*) were framed and countenanced by them againſt the ſame: themſelves have now point-blank againſt thoſe their own Arguments inforced an Oath far more ungodly, more unreaſonable, and more illegall, with more extremitie of violence, and with heavier penalties, upon more people, all in generall, more ignorant, whereby they have indangered millions of ſoules, and depoſed many faithfull Miniſters, and others, from their places, means, and maintenance, becauſe they dare not offend God and their own conſciences in taking of it.

2. By that common Anſwer of theirs, which hath been ſo often given by ſo many of them; when they have beene moved to reſtraine Anabaptiſts, Hereticks, and vicious perſons (whereof there be ſuch ſwarmes among them) namely, *that theſe ſerve to advantage the Cauſe, to promote the great deſigne in hand* (*ſcil.* to depoſe the King, and murder all his friends) *therefore they muſt be borne withall for the ſeaſon.*

From theſe, and many other ſuch particulars, it may be concluded, that your Enemies are the Enemies not onely of peace, but alſo of Gods truth and Spirit; and as you have God, and a righteous Cauſe on your ſide, ſo have you their own Conſciences againſt themſelves, and the praiers of ſincere-hearted men pleading for you: wherefore be you confident and courageous, more are for you, then againſt you, *be holy, be valiant:* Yea be holie, that you may be valiant; nay be holie, and you ſhall be valiant, the Spirit of Holineſſe is the Spirit of fortitude, and the Authour of good ſucceſſe: Remember that precept, *Deut.* 23. 9. *When the Hoſt goeth forth againſt the enemies, then keep thee from every wicked thing*: Nay let me aſſure you, you cannot gall your enemies, or prejudice them more, then by being upright and holie; for they (I mean the ſeekers of Rebellion) are ſuch imbittered enemies againſt the truth of grace, (what ever they pre-

tend) that they gnaſh their very teeth at thoſe whom they cannot vitiate with their rebellion, or darken with their lies and ſlanders. Yea friends, let me aſſure you that holineſſe in you will quite diſarme and unweapon them, wheras your ſins do ſet an edge both upon their tongues and ſwords; your holineſſe ſhall take away the edge of both, or els turn the ſame upon themſelves: wherefore I ſay and ſay againe, and I do beſeech you withall, for the good of your ſoules, and for the Honour of your King, whom you love and reverence (gallant Gentlemen and Chriſtian Souldiers) *be holy, be valiant*; and be you ſure, though you do but your duty in oppoſing theſe men of bloud (who will have nothing but *war, war,*) yet you ſhall not loſe your reward: God will ſee them paid that are imploied in his work, you may obſerve in *Ezek.* 29.18,19. That God takes order for *Nebuchadnezzar* and his Armie, *That they ſhould be paid for the ſervice they had done againſt Tyrus.*

But perhaps ſome of you will ſay, how ſhall we do in the mean time? To anſwer this, I muſt turn my ſpeech to other perſons.

You Gentlemen of the Countrey, Townſmen, and others who are not Souldiers, and do not aſſiſt perſonally in this righteous way, be it knowne unto you, that you are bound in dutie and conſcience, to afford the liberall and willing aid of your purſes: for is it juſt that theſe your Countrimen ſhould (like *Zebulon* and *Nephthali*, *Judg.* 4.) *jeopard their lives unto death in the high places of the field*, while you in the mean time, like the men of *Reuben, abide in your ſheepfolds, hearing the bleatings of your flocks*; or be ſtriving among your ſelves who ſhall afford the leaſt aſſiſtance to the ſubduing theſe enemies of your King? I confeſſe you have been loyall, and exemplarie to others in many things; I beſeech you all to perſevere, and remember that all you have lies at the ſtake, and he deſerves to loſe all, that is not willing to part with ſome to preſerve the reſt; nay (Sirs) let men think as they pleaſe of themſelves, I believe he is no true Subject, nor hath ſuch an heart as he ſhould have, that deſires any thing more then a bare being, till his Soveraigne be again ſetled in the throne of his Kingdome.

Wherefore I beg of you all (whom God hath bleſſed above others with wealth and ſubſtance) approve your ſelves right, and like thoſe *Governours of Iſrael, that offered themſelves willingly among the people*; that we (as the Propheteſſe there did) may rejoice in you, and bleſſe God for you: *Mine heart* (ſaies ſhe) *is towards the Governours of Iſrael, that offered themſelves willingly among the people, bleſſe ye the Lord.* For be aſſured that other wiſe the curſe of *Meroz* will be your portion, *Curſe ye Meroz* (ſaies the Angell of the Lord) *curſe ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof, becauſe they came not to help the Lord* (the Captain of the Lord, the Annointed of the Lord) *againſt the mighty*, or againſt his ungodly enemies, that did ſo mightily increaſe, and ſo mightily exalt themſelves.

And

And you (good people all) of what ranke or condition, ſex or degree, ſoever you be: be carefull (I pray) to afford the aſſiſtance of your praiers, that the ſpirit of the Lord may come upon that Princely Generall whom God hath ſent for your protection into theſe parts, as it did upon *Sampſon* when the Philiſtimes were upon him: And let me tell you, where ever others are pleaſed to lay the fault of our no better proceedings in theſe parts hitherto: I (who have been an obſerver of paſſages) do profeſſe unto you, that I can lay it on nothing ſo much as on your want of prayer: wee had at firſt a moſt honourable, valiant, and loyall hearted Generall: whoſe perſonall care, diligence and courage, envie it ſelf was not able to blemiſh, but he was not fortunate in theſe parts: we had after him a perſon of like nobleneſſe, againſt whom the very faction at Weſtminſter (when time was) could object nothing but honeſtie, and the Kings affection towards him: whoſe known wiſdom and valour hath been ſucceſſefull alſo in other places; but not ſo happie as yet in theſe parts; though attended too, with the concurrence of many valiant ſouldiers, and experienced men: And I do verily believe, the maine cauſe of all this is, your neglect of praier; wee have daies appointed by His Sacred Majeſtie to faſt and pray in, but how poorely are they obſerved, nay how highly are they prophaned, here is nothing among many that I ſee, but ſwearing and drinking, and deſpiſing of pietie, and thus have you weakened the hands of the valiant.

P. Rupert.

L. Capell.
L. Byron

O but I beſeech you offer not the like injurie to this Man of men, to this mirrour of *Europe*, this Honour of Chriſtendome for Chevalrie and valour, ſo fully beautified with all the qualities of a moſt accompliſhed Generall, and made more glorious yet, by the ſpaule and dawbings of the treacherous and foule-mouthed Rebells, (which alone is ſufficient to ſpeak him excellent, to all that know not him, but them:) O doe not I beſeech you tie the hands of this illuſtrious *Sampſon* with the cords of your ſinnes; do not blaſt the greenneſſe of this Royal branch, with your prophaneſſe and neglect of duty, do not weaken him by truſting in him; let your confidence be onely in God, that he may worke by him, but follow alwaies with your prayers, that good ſucceſſe may alſo attend him here, as it hath done in other places; And let us daily bleſſe the God of Heaven for him, and for his Princely Brother, the two great Inſtruments of our ſupportation, in theſe daies of our calamity; let us obſerve the Almighties doing, how her in bleſſing and honouring them hath at length regarded the low and afflicted eſtate of their Royall Mother, and hath thereby graciouſly anſwered our prayers for her, but 'tis in ſuch a way, that our enemies are ready even to gnaſh their teeths at the Majeſtie of Heaven for it, (as may appeare by their rating and chiding of God for the ſame in ſome of their prayers:) well (friends) I ſay but this; take yee heed we be not means by our ungodlie courſes to darken thoſe whom God hath honoured; leave ſwearing, drinking,

P. Maurice

drinking, Sabbath-breaking, and prophanation of the Faſt daies, leſt thereby we obſtruct the concurrence of divine aid, unto their Princely undertakings for us.

And now laſt of all, to the Governour, Major, and Officers of this Towne, I would ſpeak a word: Sirs, you are fortifying your Town, and have ſpent much money about it, to little purpoſe hitherto, your Rampires have fallen downe, and your labour hath been in vaine: and wot you what is the cauſe of all? why even the uncontrouled ſinnes within it; ſuch curſing and ſuch ſwearing, even by women and children, as well as by men, did I never heare, as in this place, ſure theſe oaths and curſes be the bullets that have battered down your Fortifications; O that you would for your owne ſafetie and for the honour of the King, and for the bleſſing of God upon his righteous Cauſe, take ſome order to reforme theſe abuſes, *quantum in vobis eſt*, beſide you might ſave ſome Money by it, your works would ſtand the better; yea if you would take the courſe which I ſhall preſcribe, you would ſpare your ſelves a great deal of trouble in another kind, and ſome charges too; 'tis this.

You are full of ſuſpicions here in the Towne, (I perceive) that you have treacherous perſons among you, ſuch as are better affected to the Enemies, then to the King: and many have bin imprisoned upon jealouſies and fears, and nothing that I ſee yet can be proved againſt them, inſomuch that perhaps they may prove honeſter men then ſome of thoſe that have moleſted them. Now one true way (as I take it) to find out the Kings Enemies amongſt you is this, appoint Officers in everie ſtreet (let the Church-Wardens and Conſtables aſſiſt therein,) to inflict and leavie (according to Statute) a pecuniarie mulct upon every Townſman, for everie oath that is ſworne either by himſelf, or by any that is under his charge, and alſo upon everie Alehouſe-keeper, who ſhall ſuffer any in his houſe to ſit drinking on the Lords daie, or on the Faſt daie, while they ſhould be at Church; and this Monie thus leavied, I would have imploied to buy food & victuals for the Priſoners of the Rebells party, (ſome of whom we have in the Town alreadie, and manie more I do not doubt by the help of God but we ſhall have ſhortly:) ſo ſhall you ſave the charge which you are at for them; and alſo thereby eaſily learne who are the moſt affected to them, and to their ſide; for without queſtion they that afford them moſt monie in this kinde, moſt reliefe, that feaſt their bodies beſt, may be yeelded their beſt friends, and the Kings greateſt Enemies: This is all I had to ſay, now the Lord give you all a right underſtanding in all things. *Amen.*

FINIS.

A 20

LETTER,

DISCOVERING

The Cauſe of GODS continuing wrath againſt the Nation, notwithſtanding the preſent endeavours of Reformation:

DIRECTING

To the Meanes of appeaſing that wrath; And *Encouraging* to Conſtancy in thoſe Endeavours:

Written with much Judgement and Pious affection,

By Mr *Nathaniel Rogers*,

A godly and Learned Divine now in *New-England*,

To a worthy Member of the Honourable Houſe of Commons, bearing Date, *Decemb.* 17, 1643.

Imprimatur EDMUND CALAMY.

LONDON,

Printed by *G. M.* for *Chriſtopher Meredith* at the Crane in *Pauls* Church-yard, M. DC. XLIV.

I

Honoured Sir:

OH that I had, or could ſanctifie the Lord according to his manifold, and great adminiſtrations of late dayes in *England* our deare mother. It's not long ſince we were as men that dreamed dreames when we here at once heard of that which might have been the work of many yeares, ſuch a Parliament once more choſen and aſſembled: ſuch liberties granted unto it, ſuch acts done by it, for *Scotland* (whoſe peace and liberty procured by your counſels, and *Englands* willing charges, I hope ſhall not be wiped off from your account in the behalfe of the Land) againſt enemies of God, Religion, Church, State, ſuch tall cedars felled, *&c.* But how ſuddenly did the Lord bring a black cloud over the Nation, and a new preſentment of it had we, as lying in blood, rent with diviſion (even ſuch as ſcarce any cauſe but the Goſpell uſeth to make) filled with alarmes, the mart of all rich commodities, made the ſhop of artillery; the garden of pleaſure, the ſtage of warre in one part of the Countrey and another: ſome Worthies already fallen, beſides divers (no queſtion) though of leſſe name on earth, yet of precious account in Heaven: ſome pined in priſons, others ſpoiled of their eſtates, (not to mention miſerable *Ireland* made a very ſlaughterhouſe, whiles your home-affaires filling your heads and hands, and emptying your purſes, give advantage to thoſe blood-thirſty ſons of that ſcarlet-whore to execute that cruell rage, that cries to Heaven) In the midſt of all theſe ſad calamities, your ſelves, whom God hath honoured to ſerve him at ſuch a time, in that high Court, as Pilots and Marriners toyling night and day in a ſtorme (longer then that *Paul* was in) to ſave that precious Barke from ſhipwrack and utter ſubmerſion, with all that rich treaſure that God hath ſtored it with, eſpecially of precious Saints, more precious then the fine gold, though accounted as earthen pitchers: It hath been matter of admiration unto

me often, to ſee how the Lord upholds that Houſe it ſelfe from diſſolution in many reſpects, that you know better, but that its He that hangs the earth upon nothing (*Iob* 26.7.) and thoſe whoſe hearts are faithfull, and cloſe to the worke, how their heads have held, and their ſpirits not been exhauſt, and hearts with wearineſſe failed, and given over, who have ſo many various, weighty, unuſuall caſes to attend: who were ſufficient for theſe things without divine aſſiſtance? But not to ſeeme to forget what I write by troubling you with long writing, be pleaſed to underſtand hereby our due reſpect to and remembrance daily, and almoſt continually of the great and high worke that you have in hand: and our labours and travailing thoughts and deſires (according to our condition and meaſure) to promote that Cauſe, which you have the heavieſt end of at preſent lying upon your hands: and we ſay and deſire the Lord daily to ſpeake to your hearts, what he oft did to his Worthies in their great employment: Feare not, but be courageous; you ſerve a great Lord, that is higher then the Kings of the earth, and ſhall reigne in *Sion:* in a victorious cauſe, however oft oppreſſed; and for a people that are deare unto God, his *Iſrael*, which he will deliver, his Saints that ſhall reigne with Chriſt Jeſus. But why then are all theſe things befallen us, and where are all his miracles? &c. [*Iudg.*6.13.] I confeſſe its a caſe worthy enquiry, and the Lord give an anſwer of peace unto his ſervants. It's true, that Antichriſt will not downe with eaſe: nor the woman bring forth the man-child, that ſhould rule all nations with a rod of iron, a ſon of the Church to reigne, without the painefull throwes, and bloody ſufferings of many Martyrs: *Pharaoh* would not eaſily let the people goe: We our ſelves inherited the Goſpell with a merciſull Reformation, not without the aſhes of many faithfull witneſſes in thoſe *Marian* dayes: yea how long was the Church in her painefull breeding, and bringing forth the Truth in the yeares and from under the tyranny of the *Romiſh* myſtery of iniquity in the bitter perſecutions, and innumerable ſlaughters of the *Waldenſes* and others of the ſame Religion, though of ſeverall names: The two witneſſes were ſlaine after their ſad propheſyings in ſackcloth, before they are taken up to Heaven: yet we muſt ſeeke a blameable reaſon from ſinfull ſons of men, as of the taking away the Truth, ſo of the withholding it from them: And

it's

it's no uncharitable gueſſe to ſay, that the hearts of the people of *England* are not prepared for the receiving Chriſt Jeſus in his kingdome. This is obvious: yet the caſe ſticks, for the neereneſſe of *England* to this mercy, and the ſuddaine withdrawing of it againe, increaſeth the darkneſſe of it: Doth the Lord uſe to refuſe zealous Reformation eſpecially in the hands of men of authority, that hath made ſuch promiſes, if there were but one ſuch, &c. *Ier.*5.1. Yes! it's not without preſident. *Iſrael* would correct *Benjamins* unnaturall wickedneſſe defended with diabolicall pride and impenitence, yet they looſe 40000. before they all can puniſh one ſuch Tribe, as vengeance it ſelfe would not ſuffer to live. *Joſiah* is zealous in purging and reſtoring Gods worſhip, his heart of a moſt choice temper, his actions almoſt all non-paraile, matchleſſe and ſuperlative, yet it ſtands not: there were ſins before which God would not pardon, [2 *King.*24.4.] no not to the acceſſaries, though they were to the principall, *Manaſſeh* I mean, but it was that thoſe repented not, but their hearts hung idolward. What remedy then? Truly you are the Body repreſentative, and there are many of the body perſonally, yea ſome of all rankes, whoſe ſincerity of Repentance, I am perſwaded the Lord would not refuſe. And I know your Faſts are many, and your care great that all the people of the Land ſhould obſerve them: Bleſſed be God! Only be pleaſed to give me leave to ſuggeſt one queſtion, which, it may be you can readily aſſoyle, though my diſtance keeps me ignorant: Hath that Honourable Houſe, which hath begun to caſt out, the perſons, and things that have ſo much offended God, and good men; hath it confeſſed the guilt of neglecting ſuch Reformation in former Parliaments, yea the rejecting of motions preſented that way: and juſtifying the then preſent ſtate of the Church, as being pure, &c? Hath there beene any publike teſtimony of acknowledgement of the great ſinne of the Land in worſhiping Chriſt after the manner of Antichriſt, and ſhutting out the Ordinances of Chriſt, and polluting Gods ſervice with mens ſuperſtitions? *Ezra* began that zealous divorcement of ſtrange wives, which *Shecaniah* adviſed him to attempt, with his deepe abaſement for that great treſpaſſe, which in a moſt humble and affectionate confeſſion he acknowledged they had been in ſo long unto the juſt bringing and continuing all thoſe evils that lay upon them. That amendment that is without confeſſion and

conviction hath not depth and bottome enough for the Lord to lay much upon. If they be ashamed of their wayes then shew them the wayes of my house, *Ezek.* 43.11. God knowes not what to doe with *Israel*, unlesse by stripping themselves of their ornaments they shew they were ashamed of what they had done, *Exod.* 33. God leaves *Ephraim* to his troubles, till he should become guilty, *Hos.* 5. 15. Is that Reformation pleasing to God that is not of evill condemned by God? if so: the guilt should first be yeelded, before the practise removed: It's the deceit of many a soule in his personall estate, to be zealous in casting off such corrupt customes, as his soule never abhorred it selfe for former defilements thereby: and the truth is, the deceit lies in imperfection of conviction, humiliation, yea of mortification: and that evill which a man leaves without acknowledgement and sense of his former offensivenesse in such way, doth but reserve to himselfe a liberty in case of more easie taking up, that which he laid downe. Were that Truth duly stated, by which Episcopacy, Ceremonies, &c. are condemned, then should God be duly justified, the sinfulnesse of former aberrations perceived, yeelded, censured and condemned, and a sure standard, and inflexible rule be laid for a perfect repairing and regulating future worke. It was alledged by a learned man in the Councell of *Trent*, when they were disallowing some things (as I remember) that there is nothing false but because it erres from somewhat that is true. If it were no offence to God to worship him, and dispense the things of his house as they were: and yet it is good to remove them, and have them otherwise: then the government of his Church, and the manner of his worship is a matter indifferent, and indeterminate: and then Christ hath gained nothing: but the royall prerogative of his Kingdome is as much abased as it was before: and then he will say, *Obedience is better then sacrifice.* But perhaps, what I write is needlesse: however, my boldnesse comming from sincere desire of your best successe and honour, and speciall confidence of your pious candor, will be pardoned. My desire and prayer is, that the Lord will rebuke Satan, and take away any defiled garments from *Iohuah* and *Zerubbabel*, that should hinder acceptance or successe: yea so I write as one that acknowledge my selfe to have had a share in those provocations and pollutions, and want yet an heart to be meetly

sensible

ſenſible of the wrong done to the Lord Jeſus therein, though the Scripture ſheweth example, and argument plentifull in that kind. Wherefore, *Honoured Sir*, if all be not right therein, improve I beſeech you, that zeale which God hath enkindled in your breaſt, and that intereſt that ſo long experience of your fidelity to the Cauſe of God hath bred you in the hearts of thoſe Noble ſpirits, whom I hope God hath raiſed up to be the repairers of breaches, the reſtorers of pathes to dwell in, to draw as many as you may unto ſuch a due humiliation before the Lord, not for other abominations, and crying wickednesſes of the Land alone, but this which was the cauſe of the reſt, and of higher nature then the reſt, that the Lord Jeſus hath not been ſet up in his throne, but iniquity eſtabliſhed therein by a Law: and that ſo as ſcarce any reformed Church hath done beſides, and contrary to the teſtimony of many moſt able, worthy Confeſſors, *Cartwrights*, *Brightmans*, &c. by their pens and ſuffrings: prevailing againſt that precious blood of holy *Bates* and others in priſons, the impoveriſhing families, and obſcuring of men of choice abilities, in learning, preaching, writing, caſt aſide for rotten traſh, the ſtarving of many Congregations, robbed of their profitable and painefull paſtors, and infinite wrong to ſoules, bodies, eſtates of Saints, and diſhonour to Chriſt, and that though by *Bl.* yet through either power conferred, or not taken away by Parliaments: the very Religion of the greateſt part of *England* being but formality and blind devotion ſtanding with groſſe profaneneſſe: the beſt Congregations forced to proſtrate themſelves to the tyranny of men over their conſciences, and the moſt ſacred parts of his worſhip corrupted with ſuperſtitious mixtures: Oh what Repentance, and what publike teſtimonies of ſelf-condemning Repentance doth the holy God expect, when as *England* hath beene a ſcandall to other Churches for theſe things: which being meetly performed, I hope the Lord would not be long abſent from counſels and endeavours for his own honour. *David* himſelfe that was fetching up the Arke with ſo much zeale, met with a terrible check: and though he was diſpleaſed at the breach, yet he was faine to confeſſe the ſinne of not ſeeking God after the right manner before he could proſper in his moſt pious attempt. How many of the *Bethſhamites* fell, that yet went to bid the Arke welcome among them: Well perhaps this *Periazzes*, and this ſlaughter of the *Bethſhemites*

was

was to prepare *David* and the people to ſanctifie the Lord in their hearts, and ſay, who is able to ſtand before this holy Lord God?

Truly Sir, our eyes are looking up, waiting and hoping, that the Lord is doing ſome great work by you in theſe dayes: It's no ſmall joy to think how many now look upon that truth with patience & inquiſition, that thought it a note of pride or hypocriſie to be medling withall: and that now pens and tongues doe juſtifie that, which erewhile it was ſcarce tolerable to be practiſed here: you know what great things are expected of a long time from the *Revelation*, and I hope ſome of them are at the doore: But then what manner of perſons ought we to be, not only that ſhall ſee, but ſhall bring forth ſuch things unto the world: Truly, God is to be feared for his mercies, and if fearfull in praiſes, when Chriſt came to redeeme as a Son of Righteouſneſſe; yet who might abide the day of his comming? When the Lord appeared to *Moſes* in a viſion, portending deliverance, and preparing him to be the deliverer of *Iſrael* out of *Egyptian* bondage, he bad *Moſes* put off his ſhooes, for the place where he ſtood was holy ground, *Exod*, 3. When *Ioſhuah* ſaw a man with his ſword drawne, and underſtood, that he was the Angell of the Lords hoſt, for them, not againſt them, he fell on his face and worſhipped: and was told that ground was holy, and bidden to put off his ſhooe. Now the Lord, that hath choſen *England* to ſave it, help his *Moſeſes*, and his *Ioſhuahs* to ſuch a peculiar holineſſe that he requires of thoſe whom he will delight to worke by: It's not by might, nor wit, but my Spirit: the barley cake tumbles down *Midians* tents, that is, *Gideon* humbled with ſuch a deſcription made of him in that divine dreame. Now the time is for ſuch as *Nehemiah* was, to repaire *Ieruſalems* walls, men of faith, that will not be daunted, men of innocency and goodneſſe, that cannot be blemiſhed, men of zeale that can neither endure Gods honour to be prophaned, nor peoples poverty to be oppreſſed by the greateſt whatſoever. And who but *Nehemiah's* could doe your work, and act your part at this day? who could have endured ſuch labours and diſcouragements? His enemies ſcoffe: at length they conſpire to be upon him from every part: his own people complaine of the difficulty of the work, their weary ſhoulders with carrying burdens, the aboundance of rubbiſh ſtill remaining, never like to be overcome, *Neh*, 4. 3, 8, 10. yet he encourageth the people, puts himſelfe and his upon the hardeſt

deſt taskes, puts not off his cloathes, watcheth, worketh, prayeth, and is at great charges inſtead of taking the wonted allowance of men in his place. Truly, when God hath ſuch work to doe, he raiſeth men of ſuch extraordinary ſpirits: Bleſſed be our God, that hath raiſed up ſuch, and upheld their hearts in that Honourable Houſe of invincible courage, and patience, and labours, whatever is become of others, whom the Lord deligts not in, to honour them with ſuch choice work, as his Temple-work is. Be you aſſured that the hearts of the faithfull in *Iſrael* are towards the governours of *Iſrael* that offered themſelves willingly among the people, bleſſe ye the Lord, *Judg.6.* The poore deſpiſed of Chriſts flock here doe pray, whiles you watch and work, and in the ſenſe of the weight of your charge would gladly be putting ſtones under your armes, whiles with *Moſes* you are ſtretching out the rod of your authority and deliverance, and others are fighting againſt *Amalek*. And the good Lord ſtirre up the hearts of the people of the Land to cleave unto you, that as God hath made you as the two hundred heads of *Iſſachar*, men that had underſtanding of the times, and what *Iſrael* ought to doe, and their brethren were at their commandment, 1 *Chro.*12.32. ſo you may be able to ſay as the Governours of *Iudah*, The inhabitants of *Ieruſalem* are our ſtrength in the Lord of hoſts their God, *Zech.*12.5. And certainly the true inhabitants of *Ieruſalem* they are a great ſtrengthening (though very few) not in themſelves indeed, but in their God who is the Lord of hoſts: you are the *Vindices* or Judges of Gods *Iſrael*, a people precious unto him: who ſhould be afraid to be the keeper of Gods ſheep: *Ioab* bid be of good courage, and behave themſelves valiantly for their people, and the Cities of their God, 1 *Chro.*19.13. He that keeps the Church of Chriſt keeps that which will keep him: yea it is the Ark of the Lord which you are guarding, which guards them that carry it: as ſometimes when it was ſent homewards in a Cart by the *Philiſtines*, it was both *auriga & onus*, as *Theodoret* obſerves: *Eſther* need not ſhrink to ſpeake for the ſaving of that people, whoſe ſafety without her, was ſurer, then her own without ſpeaking for them, as *Mordecai* told her. And though it's not the leaſt part of your temptation that the ſucceſſe depends much upon people, who are generally as unſtable as waters: who may doe much either way, but are doubtfull whether: yet both theſe are in the hands of the Lord, who if he touch their hearts, they ſhall as one man flow and ſtick cloſe unto you: and doubtleſſe the faithfull in the Land, who are not of a double heart cloſe with your godly aimes and endeavours, and one of them is better then a thouſand others, and the Saints ſhall prevaile though it be by their death

to bring forth the Cauſe of the Lord Jeſus in his own time. But oh that I might aſpire farther in hope, that the Lord, in whoſe hands are the hearts of Kings, would give you the heart and hand of his Anointed, to joyne with his Nobles and people to bring back the Ark with *David* to its place: and that He would at length ſay, that which I am perſwaded he might ſay in his very heart, The inhabitants of *Jeruſalem* are my ſtrength in the Lord their God: and alas! that in the mean time his ſoule dwells among thoſe, who are *Apollyoniſts*, children of the curſe, & the generation of Gods wrath, of whom we might ſay, *Depart from their Tents, leaſt, &c.* and with *Iaacob, ô my ſoule come not into their ſecret:* The Lord perſwade. As for your ſelves, whom the Lord hath hitherto maintained conſtant, and faithfull to his Cauſe, though with the extreame hazzard of your perſons, families, eſtates, *&c.* in the midſt of ſuch multitudes of your ranke that follow the wind, yea a body of people, which through ignorance and prophaneneſſe, are enemies to the pure and exact ways of our Lord Jeſus, the Lord remember you, and wipe not out any of your kindneſſes to the houſe of your God; yea the Lord is with you, and you are laying that ſtone, which hath ſeven eyes, which run through the whole earth, to watch for you, and moſt wiſely and proſperouſly to carry on your work about it to perfection in his ſeaſon: Feare not, but let your hands be ſtrong, you fight the battels of the Lord, and (I truſt) evill hath not been found in you (no not in your hearts towards his Anointed) He ſhall bind up your ſoules in the bundle of life, but the ſoules of the Cavalieres ſhall be flung out as out of the midſt of a ſling. Only may I humbly ſuggeſt my ſuite, that no unbeleeving feares, nor enſnaring flatteries of men wiſe according to the fleſh, cauſe you to make haſte, or turne aſide ſhort, or into any crooked ways: but make through work, as tender hearted *Ioſiah*, and liſten not to *Samaritan* worſhippers any more, as formerly others have: *Placet mirum in modum noſtra carni* (ſaith *P. Martyr* on 1 *Cor.* 5.) *in duas partes claudicare: quod eſt Deo, quam odioſiſſimum. Civiles homines, quòd in Reformatione leniter agere volint, cauſam adducunt, quòd tumultus horrent, atq; ſeditiones. Ideò ubiq; ſuadent ad multa connivendum eſſe: Cæterum alia eſt ſeveritas verbi Dei.* *Moſes* was ſo ſtrict, and yet it was but faithfulneſſe, as to ſtay 600000. men, then leave one hoofe behind him, for that it might be for ſacrifice in ſervice of the Lord. It's true, Prudence directs *quibus mediis*, to preſſe and put on the work of the Lord: but Piety admits not of any fitting of Religion or the Kingdome of Chriſt to times, places or perſons: His worſhip and Kingdome is not one framed for the plaine or perſecuting times of the Apoſtles: and another for the ſtately

ſtately frames of Chriſtian polities be they never ſo great: All States muſt conforme to the Church, all Kingdomes unto Chriſts: *Eccleſiam ad mundi normam Regnorum & Statuum componere, eſt mere Domum tuperibus accommodare.* I know, the contrary hath been the profeſſed judgement of many, and I feare the practiſe and way of more inclines thereunto: But once I hope Chriſt ſhall in *England* be acknowledged All, and only in his Church, and it ſhall be the greateſt honour unto him to accept him in every of his laws and priviledges: And give me leave to uſe the like argumentation that *Bucer* (whoſe piety in his works *de Regno Chriſti*, is worth the reading and obſerving at this time) to King *Edward*, you will not ſuffer any Parliament priviledges, or rights and liberties of ſubjects to be taken away, but will rather hazzard the loſſe of all: ſhall not zeale and punctualneſſe here be much more ſeaſonable and warrantable. I doe not think all will be ſeen at once, yet this ſhall be acceptable ſervice and honour to the Lord Jeſus our King, if you aime at that one way, wherein he will be ſerved, and weigh all in the ballances of the ſanctuary, and preferre the wiſedome and authority of his word therein above civill policie, humane reaſon, yea univerſality or antiquity of any practiſe ſince the firſt & normall patterne preſcribed in the doctrine, & recorded in the hiſtory of the ſacred Scriptures. And I am perſwaded thus much being aſſerted, for truth, and ſincerely profeſſed as your ſcope, and aimed at in endeavours, it ſhall be acceptable unto the Lord, and a bleſſing to his people. Pardon my boldneſſe good Sir, if I preſent to your wiſeſt conſideration, the unhallowed paſſages that come forth in *Mercurius Britanicus*, of ſcornefull diſhonour put upon the Name and Perſon of Him, who is by you acknowledged the Lords Annointed: It's very aimeable to reade tearmes of honour put upon his Majeſty, though ſo farre ſtirred up againſt you: It's that which I meddle not with, what is caſt upon thoſe that are about the King: I deeme juſt to make Remonſtrances, as things ſtand, wherein even the actions of his Majeſty may be complained of for your juſtification: but to put bitter and moſt contemptuous ſcoffes upon His royall Perſon, is that which *Davids* heart could not beare: nor will your ſelves if you take notice of it, I am aſſured, and know the offender. It's againſt not only the courſe of Scripture, but one Article of the late Covenant. Though I am thus bold to mention what flies about; yet I am not ſo bold as to accuſe any of that Honourable Houſe herein, who may be farre from the knowledge hereof. Since my ſetting pen to paper; we heard ſo ſad newes as made me lay aſide my

pen;

pen, fearing no paſſage would be to you: but ſince againe, much better, bleſſed be the God of our mercy, that would not let us ſinke in ſorrow: and the comfort of our comfort is in the religious and bleſſed Covenant made by you and the *Scottiſh*: which He who hath wrought it graciouſly accept it, and ſeale it in all hearts, and give us all with you not to make the emphaſis of our Joy, that it is made with the *Scottiſh*, but that its made by them and you with the great God of Heaven: that ſinne is ſo humbly acknowledged, ſo holily diſavowed and divorced, and Gods truth and ſervice ſo zealouſly avowed and profeſſed. Ie's the way whereby Kings have ſought and found the Lord: and whereby *Nehemiah* ſetled the peace of a troubled State. You have to all the world avouched the Lord for your God, now we looke for Him to avouch you for His people in the ſight of the world: And now our hearts have gotten ſome good hold to wreſtle with the Lord, which we poore worthleſſe wormes deſire to doe, ſo, as your expectations may not be failed of us: nor our duties towards you, on whom the eyes of the world are ſet; and in whoſe hands is the Cauſe of God, and the great action of this age for his Church: and in this purpoſe and poſture I ſhall humbly take leave, and with all due ſervice and honour to your ſelfe, and worthy Mr. *M.C.* the only one, that I have had acquaintance with, in that Honourable Houſe, which hath now ſome yeares been more your houſe, then your own home where that worthy and vertuous conſort, and ſweet hopefull children were wont to accompany you, to whom with moſt affectionate reſpect I deſire to be remembred, I commit you to the God of the ſpirits of all fleſh, who hath honoured you with his higheſt work, and will crowne you with an immortall reward through Chriſt Jeſus, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.

Your Worſhips obliged,

Ipſw. Decemb. 17, 1643.

but eſpecially in the

Cauſe of our Lord Jeſus,

NATH. ROGERS.

FINIS.

THE SECOND PART OF THE SPECTACLES;

OR,

Rather a Multiplying *Glass*, fitted for their use, which are not able to see with *Spectacles*: By the helpe whereof may be discerned many things at distance, which are hardly to be seen otherwise, and not ordinarily taken notice of.



The Spectacles did promise to give sight,
Unto the blind, if they were us'd aright;
But since that many a Malignant Whelpe,
In more than nine daies time recieves no helpe;
In pitty to those Pore-blind Brutes, I was
Mov'd to invent this Multiplying Glass.

LONDON,
Printed by G. Bishop, June 5. 1644.

The Second part of the Spectacles,

OR

Rather a Multiplying Glass.

THey call me a Malignant, but I defie them whose malice hath branded me with such an unchristian title, and am resolved to make a Covenant with death, and to take revenge out of hell, rather then one plague greater than another, should be wanting to those prodigious Zealots, those enemies to *God and the King*. I am a *true Protestant*, an obedient Son of the Church of *England*, I love and honour King CHARLES; and if this be not enough to make you beleeve that I am a *true Protestant*, I tell you that I can curse the Parliament in my Bed-Chamber, and discharge two or three volleys of Imprecations against the City and the *Round-heads*: This is the *dormitory* I take to bed-ward, and I can wish, that if the Devill should seduce me so farre, as to mention them in my Prayers and good wishes a nights, that I may die presently, and that great curse befall me after death, as to have some Hypocriticall Zealous Lecturer to Preach my *Funerall Sermon*, and so be buried out of the roade to Heaven, without the least parcell of the *Liturgie* or *Common-Prayer*. But *before I go hence, and be no more seen* (by this you may see, I read the Scriptures now and then) I will take all occasions to vent my spleene and ignorance, and if neither of these will do any thing against them at home, neither by firing the City, nor incensing the minds of *true Protestants*, I will then betake me to my Sword and my Gauntlet abroad, and joyn with my loyall fellow Subjects of *Ireland*, to be Joviall, and carouse in the blood of these puny-Reformers, without His Majesties consent, that are so mad as to think they can see any thing in Religion, without the concurring beames and influence of Royall Majestie: As if truth could shine any where, and

and make it day in Christian consciences, without that all-discerning Circle and *Horizon* of the Court. There resides all the glory, gravity, Piety, and learning of this present age: There is the greater and the lesser Luminary, and upon these the brightest stars of the Commonwealth are attendant in their proper spheares, though some impudent varlets, under the name of Christians, define their motions to be irregular, ever since our *Jupiter* was predominant, that is in plaine English, ever since (or before also) the beginning of His Maiesties reigne.

But because you shall not take my bare word for my Religion *truely Protestant*, I will give you an account of my faith. I must tell you, that to be a *true Protestant*, it is very necessary first, that a man should be so farre a Papist, as to maintaine an implicite faith, and blinde obedience to the Church, rather then to trouble the world with contestation in matters of Religion, as if the Bishops ever did, or would doe any thing but what was fitting: Bishop *Hall* said (in despight of *Smectymnuus*) that their Order was *Iure Divino*, and therefore it is very probable, that *Jus Divinum*, the Divine Law, should be the onely rule and square of their actions: Nor will I beleeve, notwithstanding all the Evidences, that they or His Maiestie, or Her Maiesty, or her Priests, Fryers and Jesuites, ever intended any thing but the maincaining of the *true Protestant Religion*: What though when hee was but Prince, he was by the Physitian, (shall I call him) or Poysoner in ordinary, *Buckingham*, even made to take the Aire in *Spaine*, as a sure remedy to preserve our Religion? Shall we think that such a slight businesse as this could performe the cure, and bring him to a hopefull temper? No, there must be other stratagems on foot of a higher straine than ordinary; Nay, and the Pope out of his Clemency, undertakes the cure himself, well knowing that *Peter-pence* in *England* are good fee and reward for his labour. And therefore his *Holinesse* (out of his good meaning to the Protestant Religion) writes a letter in such *Orengado* candied language, that I can assure you, the true Protestants have had the better opinion of him ever since, and never the worse of his Maiestie, because he returned so cordiall and obedient an Answer. His *Holinesse* tells him, That *the former Kings of* Britaine *have been very famous for their Devotion to the Popes chaire, and though the State of the Church be altered, yet the Court is adorned with such Morall vertues, as may support his Charity.* Ah kind Gentleman, see how he was in love with the Court! To this his Maiesty very piously made answer. *Most holy Father: I received your Sanctities dispatch, with grand contentment, & with a respect becoming the Piety & Benevolence there of; I have read the Elogies of my royall Progenitors who have exposed their Estates and lives for the exaltation of the holy Chaire (set before mine eyes*

by your Holineſſe for imitation) with pleaſure unexpreſſible, and as juſtly deſerved by them, and then a little further: *Nor doe I eſteeme it a greater honour to be deſcended of ſo great Princes, than to repreſent them in the Zeale of their Pietie.* This can be meant ſure no otherwiſe, than in preſerving the Proteſtant Religion, as appeares by the next words of his Holineſſe Letter, which are theſe. *The more the glory of your moſt Clement Father, and the reſentment of your Royall nature (or inclination) delights us, the more ardour there is in us to open the gates of heaven to you. Wee commend your deſigne, which directed you to take a journey into* Spaine, *to allye your ſelf to the Houſe of Auſtria, it elevates us to the hope of extraordinary advantage; Our open teſtimony is in this preſent affaire, that you are he which hath the principall regard of our Prelacie:* (Mark here, whoſe are the Prelacy.) *For ſince you deſire to take in marriage a daughter of* Spaine, *we eaſily conjecture, that your Progenitours Zeal may againe revive in your ſoul; and it's not credible, that he which loves ſuch alliance, ſhould hate the Catholike Religion, or take delight in oppreſſing the holy Seate, &c.* To which his Majeſty makes anſwer thus: *The knowledge which I have of my moſt honour'd Fathers minde, and the concurrence of his Catholike Majeſty, to whom the preſent diviſion of Chriſtian Princes is ſo grievous; and the fore-ſight of your Holineſſe, who judged this Match with the* Infanta *of* Spaine, *neceſſary for procuring publike union, and therefore deſigned it, are encouragements to me.* Now that this publike Union of Princes ſo deſired, is meant in no other, but the true Proteſtant Religion, theſe following words make it evident enough to thoſe who want *a Multiplying Glaſs*; for his Majeſty himſelf infers thus. *Wherefore 'tis moſt certain, I ſhall never be ſo affectionate to any thing in the world, as to ſeek alliance with a Prince that hath the ſame ſence of true Religion with my ſelfe. I have been alwayes very farre from encouraging Novelties, or being a Partee in any faction againſt the Catholike, Apoſtolike Roman Religion: but have ſought all occaſions to remove ſuch ſuſpitions from reſting on mee. And for the future, ſince wee all beleeve in one* JESUS CHRIST, *I will ſtraine all my power, to have but one Religion, and one Faith. and I am reſolved to ſpare nothing in the world, but to ſuffer all manner of diſcommodities, even to the hazard of life and eſtate, for the effecting hereof. It reſts onely, that I thank your Holineſſe for your permiſſion and accord herein; and I pray God to bleſſe you for the great travaile which your Holineſſe hath ſuſtained in his Church.*

What thinke ye of this excellent and Pious anſwer to the Popes letter? Can a *true Proteſtant* heart pick any thing thence, which might ſeem to ſpeak our King ill-affected to the *true Proteſtant* Religion? I dare ſay, ye cannot ſee any ſuch thing without *a Glaſs*, becauſe the buſineſſe is ſo farre paſt, and done long ſince. Cannot a Prince complement a little

with

with the Pope, but every sawcy *Round-head* must question him, and passe a rigid censure upon a smooth return of words? As if men did not know that it hath been the common Court-fashion to dissemble, and mens tongues there, as great strangers to their hearts, as their hearts are to the truth of Religion. I am no Malignant, but a *true Protestant*; for my faith and Conscience are both tied under his Maiesties girdle; and though I have gotten a *Glass*, to discerne things which are so far off from the common capacity, yet I will not beleeve what this *Glass* helpes me to see: I am sure Obstinacie hath made the King more obedient Subjects, fitted for his turne than Ignorance: Oh what a gallant humour it is to be an obstinate Malignant! If the King had not had some such true Protestant Subjects as my self, the Schismaticall *Round heads* would have swayed all by this time. VVhat though in this Court-dissimulation with the Pope (for in spight of Truth I will have it to be none other) Gods Name was too farre used, and that the dissimulation extended further then language?

VVhat though the Affaires of Court and Church, for many yeeres together, have been conformable to the same expressions? VVhat though no words of man can more fully and cleerly justifie Popery, and protest against the novelties and heresies of the Reformed Churches, than these doe. VVhat though neither the Pope, nor his Councellours and principal Ministers (who are not usually gulled, or blinded, or out-done in such kinde of craft) suspected any dissimulation at all? VVhat though there are things publike enough in the *Spanish* tongue, to confirm the reality of all, As the severall Arguments of Father *John de Monte-Major*, to be seen in print? This man was a Jesuite, and a subtill Statesman, who in the *Junto* at *Madrid*, when the marriage of our now King with the *Infanta* was upon debate, for answer to such difficulties and objections, which some of the *Spanish* Counsell had offered to oppose the marriage, divers times insisted upon these points; as it may be seene in a printed book concerning the proceeds of the Treaty of Marriage. VVhich (because you shall see what a weak dull *Gallis* I now present you) I here set downe. And now begin *Seignior John de Monte-Maior*, you dull, Round-headed *Spaniard*, that would offer to let such things be printed, to be cast in our Kings dish, let me hear what thou canst say, and I protest, if I like what thou sayest, I will begin to thinke I have been a *Malignant* indeed, and make use of this *Glass* with an even and impartiall eye.

Since the Prince is a man setled in his manners, and makes account of our holy Law, it may with sufficient probability be hoped, that by the good example of the most illustrious Infanta, *and all her Attendants, both men and women, and by the holinesse and doctrine of her Confessour, he will be easily brought to our ho-*

ly Faith, fol. 6. a. *Another principall thing to be observed is, That the Prince, (as all other English and French Hereticks doe) beleeves that wee are saved, keeping the Religion of the Church of* Rome. fol. 8. b.

There are sufficient signes shewing, that the King of England *is well affected to our Religion, since it appeares, he with such care and paines, endeavours to match his Son with a Spouse so much Catholike, daughter to so Catholike Parents, and he being the onely heire of his Kingdomes, against the advice of all the Hereticks, and all his Counsellors, and all the enemies of his Crowne, hath sent him with great danger of his health and life, &c. All which is a great signe, that he being moved with some great light from Heaven, desires to forsake the new religion he professeth, and so return to the old one professed by his Predecessours, for so many Ages. The Prince gives clear testimony, to be well affected to our holy Law, since he beleeveth, and hath spoken it to divers Persons that those that follow the same, are saved in it, &c. being Grand-childe to a Grand-mother that died a Martyr.* fol. 9. a. *Thus great hope may be, that the whole Kingdome shall be reduced to the Catholike Faith.* fol. 9. b. *It is to be noted, how earnestly this Match hath been pursued, and treated for, both with his Holinesse, and other persons, debated in many* Junto's, *by most learned men.* fol. 10. b. *The children shall be brought up by their Mother the* Infanta, *till they be fourteen yeares of age, &c.*

VVhat though such great Agents of the Hierarchie have delivered their Judgments so plainly, and set forth also the reasons whereby their Judgements are grounded, so clearly; Shall I yet beleeve that his Majestie ever intended really with the Pope? No, I will never beleeve it. And yet some would make me beleeve, that at this voyage about the Marriage, the Plot for propagation of Popery in *England*, was first lay'd in *Spaine*; That at that time the *Spaniard* wrought so far with many of our *English* Courtiers there, as to become hereafter his well-wishers, Intelligencers, Pensioners, and slaves for Gold: There (they say) *Buckingham* first plotted the necessary Translation of King *James*: Now as great a Maligner as I am, I must confesse, that concerning King *James*, and Marquesse *Hamilton*, doth somewhat startle me; as if they were both removed out of the way, that the Plot might be more currant: If I knew the certainty, all my doubting were at an end: But it is said, some Physitians were dealt with under-hand, and either submitted their mercenary tongues to flattery for gold, or their mindes to a base timiditie; VVhat though I cannot see these things with a Multiplying Glass, yet it seemes there are those which doe, and can without one? And therefore since my sight is weake, that I cannot perceive things so far distant, I will fixe my Glass upon the times neerer to us, and if I finde so much truth, as to qualifie my passion, you may chance to have me a Proselyte.

sehyte. I am sure, that when the Queen came over first, she cared for nothing but playing with little Dogges, and Dwarfes, and Masquing, Dancing, revelling; the worst that could be made of the Court (yes, and the best too) it was but a Scene of Voluptuousnesse, a Stage of Luxurie and Pride: This Comicall Prologue (I am sure) contributed nothing in Act to the ensuing Tragedy, though perhaps the guilt of that might be the cause of this.

Suppose I grant (what some say must be granted) that though the match with *Spaine* was broken off, yet the generall Plot of bringing in Popery held on still, and the actors had the ground-work left entire, as long as a Lady of the Religion was wedded. If I grant this, then I shall not be able to answer such Objections as may be made? I am loath to grant it, because it must be granted also, that the King was Privie to it, and then the jealous world will conclude him too much inclined that way, which whether he be, I cannot thinke, though I must needs say, his Complement with the Pope might receive a doubtfull construction.

I must needs say, that concerning the warres in *Bohemia* and the *Palatinate*, in his Fathers time, and in *Rochell* in later time, that our false promises of supplies and aids (purposedly as 'tis thought) destroyed the Protestant Cause; I must needs say, as soon as the Queene had out-grown her childish yeeres, and began to be ripe enough to be a Partee in mischief; that the designe then began of bringing over the Popish *Nuntio*, when as Sir *Toby Matthewes*, that Jesuited limbe of the Devill, had first paved away with some previous considerations, for his more plausible entertainment. I must needs say, that not long after, many souls were gull'd with that nice distinction between the *Romish Religion*, and reconciliation to *Rome*, so much prest by the Prelaticall partee.

I must needs say, that *Auricular Confession*, *Penance*, *Altar-Worship*, *Saint-Worship*, were all forwarded by *Canterbury* and his Abettors, *Sparrow*, *Watts*, *Heylyn*, *Mountague*, *Cosins*, and many others; whilst the sanctity of the Sabbath was depraved with a profane Declaration, and all strictnesse of life, under the scandall of Puritanisme disparaged, *Arminianisme*, *Socinianisme*, and *Atheisme* it selfe countenanced, to the debasement both of Clergy and Laity.

It must be confessed, that besides the Negotiation of *Seignior Con*, and *Panzani*, the Popes Agents here, more weighty businesses were in hand here, than they were able to mannage, as appeares by the Pope and Cardinall *Barberini*, his dispatching so many persons of such qualitie hither,

that

that the King ſtood bare at their Audience, and manifeſted ſo much grace in their reception, and that the Queen, and all the great Lords and Ladies, with extraordinary preſents, and frequent viſits both given and taken, ſtudied to doe them extraordinary honour.

It muſt be confeſſed, that in *Rome*, and many other parts beyond the Seas, both the King, and the Arch-Biſhop have been eſteemed ſure and firme friends to the *Roman-Catholicks*, which is verified by putting of Arms into the hands of the Papiſts of this land.

It is already proved that *Canterbury* aimed to be *Alterius orbis Papa*, as ſome of his Predeceſſors were called.

It muſt be confeſſed that many Popiſh Rites and Ceremonies, were obtruded upon the amazed people, under pretence of conforming to reverend Antiquity.

It muſt needs be granted for many Reaſons, that the war againſt the *Scots*, was *Bellum Epiſcopale*, the Popes war, and the Biſhops war, and that out of the neceſſities wherein the King was involved by their Warre, and which themſelves were not able to ſupply, ſprang the firſt riſe of this preſent Parliament, wherein likewiſe they had a Plot, but it proved the break-neck of all their plots, through an over-ruling Providence.

It muſt alſo be confeſſed, that in the reare of all theſe defeated miſchiefs, when nothing would proſper in the behalf of Popery; Forth came the deſperate *Iriſh Ambuſcado*.——

And now *I* am come thus farre in Speculation, oh what wonders of monſtrous cruelties doe *I* behold on a ſudden, enough to fright away my ſenſes to their Center! Here humbly on my knees *I* now profeſſe my ſelf a *Puritan*, a *Round-Head*, or any thing, ſo you pleaſe to call me a Convert, and no Malignant, no true Proteſtant in an *Oxford ſenſe*, I beſeech you. If *I* ſhould relate what *I* have perceived in this *Iriſh* buſineſſe, now upon the ſudden, without ſo much as the helpe of a *Multiplying Glaſs*, it were enough to mollifie a Malignant of Marble. All other paſſages are nothing when *I* look upon *Ireland*. Oh look upon that one Deyillish deſigne in *Ireland*, and thou ſhalt need no other Glaſs to behold what Religion is intended, to be maintained by thoſe that beare Arms under the King againſt the Parliament

FINIS.





A Flemish ship is with Muskets taken,
And Essex Exeter will soone awaken;
To Bath or Bristoll faine the Queene would goe,
The King is on some Progresse gone also;
At Winkfield active Gell tooke eighty horse,
Skellum Grinvile was beate with all his forces;
Wallers skirmish is fully related,
Hibernicus Sophismes are declared.

Be Wise as Serpents, innocent as Doves.

THE

SCOTISH DOVE

Sent out, and Returning;

Bringing Intelligence from the Armies, and makes some Relations of other observable Passages of both Kingdoms, for Information and Instruction.

From Friday the 28. of June, to Fryday the 5. of July.

AT our Doves last returne she left our King in his Royall plundering progresse, a progresse not usually knowne in *England* much lesse practised by the Kings of *England*; whose progresses have been pleasure to themselves, and content to their people; in whose progresse their carriage have been carried from one remove to another,

thet, &c. the Subject horses, and carts at the Kings pay; but now his Majesty hath altered the custome, and makes his progresse to carry away his Subjects as slaves, and captives, by force taking away their horses, carts, cattell, goods and all, as if all were his own; and this is to preserve the Liberty of the Subject; for his Majesty is pleased to tell us so, and some sonnes of *Beliall* would perswade us we are bound to beleeve it, although we know it is incredible, and as contrary to Liberty, as freedome is to bondage; false hearts may carry on soule and treacherous designes for a time under faire pretences, but time will unmaske Hypocrisie, and treachery will be discovered by the actions, as it is (by Gods mercy) discovered to us at this day. Therefore (as a discreet Statesman of *France* writing of Treason saith) *If* Machavill *and his followers, favourers of Tyranny, did well weigh what the Scripture holds out unto us, that God will overthrow dissemblers and lyars with all their lyes and subtilties, they would not commend dissimulations, deceites, treacheries and such like prankes, to poyson the noble minds of Princes;* for saith he, *If a Prince goe against his promise, it ought to be reckoned as a case that fell out by chance, and not to be supposed the contrary;* so farre should a Prince be from violating any promise, and so tender in making promises; for it is most dishonourable in a Prince, *and no fault* (saith the same Author) *more detestable in Princes then Perjury; for if he that is debtor and pledge for Justice be disloyall, there is no more trust to be given to him in all his Castles, &c.*

We by intelligence conceived that the King was hasting towards Leicestershire, and so to Prince *Rupert*; but sir *William Waller* being come up so close to his reare before the plundering was finished, and the design consummate, that his Majesty grew angry at his diligent attendance, and turned against him to be avenged, whom our Dove found at *Eldsbra*, with his Army about him on Friday, seeking opportunity against his faithfull servant, and good friend sir *William Waller*, who was then at *Hanwell*, about four miles distant, a little river being between them; on Saturday they had a skirmish, and it is reported there was an equall losse on both sides, but that the Kings Army had the worst of the day appeares in that they retreated, and are winged about to fly away, whither I know not, but leave them to their shifts, till I can give you a better account of their designe, which you shall heare before you have read my sheete.

From the Leiger before *York* we are certified, that Prince *Rupert* is on his march towards *Yorke*, and was within thirty miles about

bout *Skipton*, and that the horſe and foot (of which you heard relation laſt weeke) are attending him, but have not met with his Army; *Rupert* makes no great haſt to *Yorke*, nor deſires to meet their Army, but lingers out the time in expectation of ſome aſſiſtance from *Cumberland*, and *Weſtmerland*, by the diligence or power of ſir *Philip Muſgrave* and the reſt of the Array men; but it is probable it will be in vaine; for they of the Counties are of themſelves unwilling to engage themſelves, and the Earle of *Callenden* is ready to encounter them if neede ſo require, who is able if once in a body to ſuppreſſe them.

Beſides, the Earle of *Denbigh* is with a very conſiderable ſtrength come into *Lancaſhire*, and by this time joyned with ſir *John Meldrum*, and they are ready to follow *Rupert* in the reare, but it is not in the ſtrength of men, nor horſe that we muſt truſt unto; nor is it that we need to feare, our God is the Lord, the God of Hoſts, whoſe quarrell we and our Brethren of *Scotland* defend, and in him we will truſt, if our ſins hinder not we ſhall ſurely ſee a ſpeedy ruine of our enemies, whoſe iniquity is growne to a height, and ready to deſtruction, were we as ready for mercy.

By Letters to the Houſes from the Lord Generall *Eſſex* we underſtand his reſolution of a preſent ſiege againſt *Exeter*, which is conceived is at this day beſieged, and by ſome with confidence affirmed, but for my part I dare not peremptorily affirme ſo much, although I beleeve it will be ſhortly; his Excellency hath great incouragement by the Countries comming in to his aſſiſtance, and for certaine the greater part of the City of *Exeter* are well affected to the Parliament, and will give their beſt aſſiſtance to entertaine him.

We have certain intelligence of a Ship taken by a man of Warre, that was going to the Kings party laden with 3000. Armes, ſhe is a Flemiſh ſhip, and is put in at *Southampton*; the Armes are very convenient and neceſſary for his Excellencies preſent occaſions, and will be a diſappointing of the enemies expectation.

Monies and other neceſſaries are ſent to his Excellency by Sea from *London*; ſome in his Army are ſent for up, and his Excellency will no doubt give a good account of the Weſt within three months: her Majeſty hath ſent a ſecond Meſſage to him, deſiring to have a ſafe conveyance to *Briſtoll*, which ſhe ſeemes reſolute for the change of Ayre, for recovery of her health, but his Excellency is with unſpeakable to be ſo much deprived of her, whom he may have a ſpeciall eſteeme for the maligne diſeaſe that rageth; *London* affords the beſt

Physick for all diseases, if both their Majesties were there together to consult with the skilfull Physitians of Cure. Many of the Lords that were lately in the infected University of *Oxford* dispaire of cure elsewhere, and hasten thither, the Earl of *Kenould*, Earl of *Leicester*, sir *Ia. Hoy*, &c. You have formerly heard of the names of more then a good many of them, amongst the rest Sergeant *Glanvile*, and Mr. *Bagshaw*, tho one takes his dyet in the Tower, the other is in the Kings Bench in *Southwarke*, bewailing his perfidious dealing toward God, and his unfaithfulnesse to the inhabitants of *Southwark*, that made him a Parliament man, which he basely disserted to sit with the late Iuncto at *Oxford*, turning like a Weather-cock, yet unfixed in any place; a string and a three cornor'd Cap will be good Physick, and make him constant ever after. The Earle of *Newport* is purging him selfe at sea, he is come in to the Lord Admirall, when the ill humour is taken away he may be admitted to speake before the Lords, and made sensible of his faults, &c.

Sir *Ralph Hopton* is gone to *Bristoll* to lament his condition, he hath been blowne up, and beaten downe by sir *William Waller*, and hath run himselfe out of breath, and now sits down dispairing; *Essex* name is terrible, and *Hoptons* recruite is impossible; Colonell *Astoburnham* is gotten into *Portland Castle*, and it is supposed intends to ride the Sea Horse into *France*, or to some other place to secure himselfe; he hath manfully stood out one summons in *Portland*, but run away from *Weymouth* for feare before a summons came; he is as valiant as religious, he tooke a coward with him, and left the Emblem of an Atheist behind him, expresst in the height of blasphemy against God, by way or imitation of a Catechisme, with these questions and answers (in writing set up in the Towne when they left it) Quest. What is your name? Answer, *Round-head*. Quest. Who made you? A. *Essex*. Quest. Who redeemed you? Answer, *Waller*. Q. Who delivered you? Ans. *Warwicke*, &c. *These are the men that adventure their lives to fight for the Protestant Religion*; truely it it too great an honour to call them men, for they are worse than Divells; the Divells beleeve there is a God, and tremble at his Iudgements, but these men doe neither.

There is a *Mercurius Hibernicus*, a blind Harper, or a disguised Jesuite ascended from the Abysse of Hell, to justifie the late rebellion in *Ireland* by Sophismes. 1. To frame improbable causes, or incitements of that rebellion. 2. To excuse the Actors under the name of helpers. 3. To commend the Cessation as good and pious; it is an impious

impious prophane Harper. Firſt (he ſaith) *That his Maieſties pious deſigne to ſettle a uniformity of Religion in the three Kingdomes cauſed our Liturgy to be ſent into* Scotland, *which was refuſed*; marke the words (*Our Liturgy*) he tells you whence he is, for we know that that Liturgy was not the Liturgy allowed in the Church of *England*, but much more adulterated, and framed by the Pope and the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; ſo the reſult is this; the Popes Liturgy was ſent to be received in *Scotland*, and was refuſed; *upon which* (ſaith he) *they would demoliſh Biſhops, though the Liturgy was onely commended to them, but not commanded.* But Mr. *Harper* you lye in that moſt groſly; for it was commanded, the *Scots* were proclaimed Rebells a firſt, ſecond, and third time for refuſing it; and at laſt an Army was prepared to goe againſt them to compell it; and the *Scots* did but defend themſelves which you juſtifie in page 13. you ſee the Harp is out of tune; but that which the Harper would infer is, That *the Iriſh Remaniſts having ſeverall grievances of conſcience, as well as the Scots, fell to think that if the Scots might introduce a new Religion, it was reaſon the Iriſh ſhould not be reſtrained in the old, therefore they rebelled*; as much as to ſay, becauſe one man ſaves his head from breaking, therefore I may cut another mans throat; a ſound argument, and well applyed of a blind harper.

Secondly, he tells us, *Examples make ſtrong impreſſions upon the fancy, and that the example of* Scotland *wrought ſo powerfully upon the* Iriſh, *that it was an inciteement to make them rebell, eſpecially thoſe notions receiving vigour and form, by the death of the Earl of* Strafford, &c. Well harp't Harper, but you ſcrew up your ſtrings too high, we know *Strafford* was preparing for the ſame rebellion, to cut our throates in *England*, as well as the good Proteſtants in *Ireland*.

Thirdly, *that the* Iriſh *underſtanding with what acrimony the Roman Catholiques were proceeded againſt in* England *ſince the ſitting of this Parliament, and the deſignes a foot againſt them, and not onely againſt them, but againſt the Proteſtant Religion it ſelfe.* (Note that the Romiſh Catholiques, and the Proteſtant Religion are all one) *therefore they thought it was high time to fore-caſt what ſhould become of them, and tooke up Armes in rebellion to prevent it*; by cutting all the Proteſtants throates, and this is their fighting for the Proteſtant Religion.

Fourthly, *that the Earle of* Straffords *Army of* 8000. *men being by the advice of the Parliament diſbanded, they ſcorning to goe from the ſword to the ſpade, and not being ſuffered to be ſhipped away into* Spaine

&c.

as was desired, therefore they must needs rebell, and kill all Protestants: which is as much as if our Harper should say, because the Parliament would not suffer those Rebells to come to cut our throates in *England*, they would doe it in *Ireland* by authority, for so some of them have confessed they did.

In the second place, this Harper tells us of his Majesties *care to suppresse this Rebellion, first he made addresse to the Parliament, which Queene* Elizabeth *and her progenitors used not to doe.* Now you lye Mr. Harper, she alwaies was guided by her Parliament, so was her Progenitors, and never came armed to beate, kill, or imprison any of them. Then he tells us, *that his Majesty gave royall assent to any propositions, or Acts for the raising of men, money, &c.* consent he gave, but the Act was refused; forget not your selfe blind harper, but who sent Popish Commanders into *Ireland* with the authority of *C. R.* and who hindered men and horse from going over, when the Parliament had at great charge provided them, and sent them to *Westchester?* who betrayed *Porchmouth?* who besieged *Warwick Castle?* and who set up a Standard of War in *Yorkeshire* and *Nottingham*, &c. raising a rebellion in *England*, to hinder the Parliament from sending any ayd into *Ireland?* they that did all this, they raised the Rebellion in *Ireland*, and at their hands all this blood shall be required. The Harper tells us, *his Majesty offered to passe over thither in person for their relieſe*; it is true, his Majesty would have gone over, but whatsoever his Majesty intended in going, we know what was the aym of the Harper, and the rest of the Spanish faction that counselled it; *Digby* would have him goe to a strong Hold for a time, you know my meaning Harper, you would have all the money that was adventured, and collected for *Ireland* to reward the Rebells, &c. then he tells us a Tale of *his Majesties clemency in hearkening to the Petition of his Subjects in* Ireland, *and of honourable acts of the Marquesse of* Ormond *in hearkening to a Treaty, &c.* thus he seekes to blind mens eyes, by putting honourable Titles upon dishonourable actions, to take occasion to raile against the Parliament, who will (by Gods blessing) regaine *Ireland*, and execute Justice upon the Harper, *Digby*, and the rest, Spanish, *German*, or French factions.

In the third place this *Irish* Harper would *prove the Cessation with the Irish Rebells to be more honourable and pious, than either the pacification, or peace with the Scots*; and he gives five reasons for it, as neer truth as a *Bristoll stone* is to a Diamond. 1. *When the pacification was made with* Scotland, *his Majesty was there in Person with his Nobles, gentry, and servants, &c. but that at the Cessation with the Irish Rebels*

Was

was done by Commissioners, &c. Stay a little blind Harper, the most honour is due to the most honourable action, and that is most pious that is most pleasing to God; but the pacification with the *Scots* was the most honourable act, they being his Majesties native people, and his injured Subjects, &c. the Irish Rebells were neither. Againe, the Cessation with the Irish Rebells was displeasing to God, and impious. 1. As they are Idolaters, dishonourable to God. 2. As they are bloody Butchers of Gods people, and his Majesties subjects, *&c go.*

Secondly (the Harper saith) *Upon the pacification with* Scotland *there was a generall pardon, &c. there was honours and Offices conferred, &c. but at the Cessation in* Ireland *there was no such thing.* Stay good Harper, wipe your eyes, and looke over the Articles signed at *Oxford*, is not there a generall Pardon? are not there Honours and greatest Offices conferred, as a reward of their rebellion & murder.

3. *When the pacification was made with the* Scots (saith the Harper) *they had money given them, but the* Irish *gave considerable sums.*

I answer, no money was given to the *Scots* but their owne, nor so much; they did no injury, but were injured; but the Irish have their owne given to them, all which was justly forfeited, and other mens estates are given them too, which was not forfeit, yet they were not injured, but have don insupportable injuries, little honour is in all this.

4. *At the pacification with* Scotland *there was a vigorous* English *Army on foot, wanting neither Ammunition, Armes, Money, &c. to elevate his spirits, but the Protestant Army in* Ireland *had none of all these, therefore there was a greater necessity, &c.* By your leave Mr. *Harper*, you wanted money and some thing else; all you Papists, Bishops, Prebends &c. with the helpe of the French and Spanish factions could not raise money at that time to carry on your designe against the Scots; therefore, &c. And were it not your designe at this day to destroy the Protestant religion, the Protestants army in *Ireland* might have been much more able, and furnished with all things, better then your Army was when the King made the pacification with the Scots.

5. In *Ireland* (saith the Harper) *there was eminent danger of the losse of the whole Kingdome, and of the Protestant Religion, but there was no such danger in* Scotland, *&c.* I must tell you Harper, had not your designe been to destroy the protestant religion in all the three Kingdomes, three Armies might have been commanded to secure that Kingdome against all enemies domestick or forraine; nor had it ever come into danger if you had not prevented the securing of it at first.

By

By Letters from Chard is certified that on the 27. of Iune there came in to his Excellency of the Country within the circuit of 12. miles 4000. men, who were all drawn into rankes and files into a medow, where his Excellency came to welcome them; and the Lord Roberts (Lord Marshall of the field) made an excellent speech to them, which they accepted with great acclamations; all offering themselves to live and dye in the Parliaments cause. The L. Roberts is to goe into Cornwell shortly, the Garison of Plimouth offer to take the field with him; part of that Garison went out of Plimouth about seven miles, beat up a quarter of the enemie, tooke 44. horse and prisoners, and were pursued by Skellum Grinvile, who was beaten back in great disorder, with the losse of divers of his men; Col. Arundel and Major Wiseheart were slaine, Col. Digby wounded in the face, Grinvile run away for feare of being taken, his Gallowes is made at the Kingdomes charge, I wish him speedy possession of it.

Sir John Gell having sent 3. troops of horse, and 2. troops of Dragoons to the Earl of Denbigh had a small party of horse abroad, who were met by some of the Kings forces from Winkesield, and many of them were taken prisoners; but the Alarm comming to Derby a fresh party was sent out, and in Winkfield Town set upon the enemy, recovered all their men, and tooke 80. of the enemies horse which they brought to Derby.

I promised to give you a fuller satisfaction of the fight between sir William Waller and the Kings Army which is truely thus; Upon Satterday in the morning the enemy beginning to march with big and baggage, sir William Waller marcht hastily to Cropridy Bridge, and the other passages neare; Col. Midleton who is Lieutenant Generall, fell on with 4 or 5. troops by a Mill next beneath Cropridy, sir William advanced with the rest of the horse over a passage next beneath him, where he had a steepe Hill to mount; not far from the top of the hill the enemy had drawne up a strong body; some regiments comming up slowly sir Wil. Waller made a stay till those Regiments came to the foot of the Hill, at which time the Lieut. Generall had charged the enemy, and chased them about a mile, but a great body of the enemy comming charged him, which forced him to a quick retreat with some losse; himself was dismounted, but a Dutch-man on the enemies side mounted him again, and gave him a horse, bidding him kil a Roundhead, supposing him to have been a Cavalier; Col. Weymes, Col. Baker, and a Dutch Captain were taken prisoners, Lieut. Col. Boynes either taken or slaine, wee lost 5. Drakes, one Minion, and two Lether Guns, these being by accident drawn out beyond the passage of Cropredy; then the whole Army of the enemy being rallyed sir Wil. Waller made an orderly retreat to his foot, which was done without losse, and so drew up the Hil where he faced the enemy, which was drawn up on the other side of the passage, Cropredy bridge being made good against the enemy there was skirmishing all the day, the losse was equal on both sides, onely the peeces we lost; but the honour of the day was to sir Wil. for he stayed and the enemy drew away. They lost 3. Colonels, Butler, Clark, and another, one Major, two Captains, a Captain Lieut. and divers Officers; Col. Midleton took the L. Wilmot prisoner, and wounded him, but he was rescued from the souldiers to whom he was committed, he was sorely wounded; a little before Sun set there came a Trumpeter from the King with a paper signed by the King of Armes, expressing if he might have safe conduct he was to deliver a Message of grace and favour to the army; sir Wil. returned answer, that he had no Commission to entertain any Message from his Majesty without permission from the Parliament, to whom they must make their redresse. The King is now gone towards Chiping-norton; God send him wel and in peace to London.

Printed at London according to Order for L. C.

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ORDINANCE

OF THE

LORDS and *COMMONS*

Assembled in PARLIAMENT;

For putting the Associated Counties

OF

Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, Huntington, Hertford, Cambridge, Lincoln,

The Isle of *Ely*, and the Cities of *Lincoln* and *Norwich* into a Posture of Defence;

By the better Regulating of the Trained Bands, and Raising other Forces of Horse and Foot, for the preservation and safety of the said Counties and Cities.

ORdered by the Commons Assembled in Parliament that this Ordinance be forthwith printed and published.

Henry Elsyng, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

London, Printed for *Edward Husbands*, and are to be sold at his shop in the Middle-Temple. July 5. 1644.

ORDINANCE

An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for putting the Associated Counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Essex*, *Huntington*, *Hertford*, *Cambridge*, *Lincoln*, the Isle of *Ely*, and the Cities of *Lincoln* and *Norwich* into a Posture of Defence, by the better regulating of the Trained-Bands, and raising other Forces of Horse and Foot, for the preservation and safety of the said Counties and Cities.

THe Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, taking into their serious consideration the sad and manifold Oppressions and Miseries that now do threaten the utter Ruine and Desolation of this Kingdom in generall, and the Counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Hertford, Lincoln, Huntington, The Cities of Norwich, Lincoln, and Counties of the same, and the Isle of Ely in particular; And how necessary a thing it is, that all men well-affected, having any bowells of compassion towards their

afflicted Country, should in these times of Imminent danger, put themselves into a Posture of Defence, by raising of Forces both of Horse and Foot, for the defence and safety of the said Associated Counties and Cities, from the Invasion and Fury of the Irish Rebells, Popish and ill-affected persons, who seek the Ruine and Destruction of the whole Kingdom in generall, and the said Associated Counties in particular:

Be it Ordained and Declared by the Lords and Cõmons assembled in Parliament, and by the Authority of the same, That for the intents and purposes before mentioned, the said Associated Counties and Cities shall forthwith be put into a Posture of Defence, and shall raise Forces of Horse and Foot for the defence of the said Association, And that the Lord Lieutenants or Deputy Lieutenants of the said severall and respective Counties and Cities, or any two or more of them, shall forthwith after notice or receipt of this Ordinance, issue out their Warrants to the Constables

 and

and Overseers of the severall Parishes, or to any two or more of the most able and fitting persons of the parishes within every respective Hundred or Division, thereby requiring them at certain times and places prefixt, to deliver unto them a List or Schedule of the Names of all persons within their severall and respective Parishes, from the Age of Sixteen to Sixty (being of ability of body) and of all other persons whatsoever, worth an Hundred pounds or more in Lands or Goods; And of all Horses and Mares above four yeers of Age, and the Names of the Owners; And of all Arms, Guns, and other usefull Weapons for the War, with the Names of the Owners of them, Except such Horses, Men and Arms as are now, or shall be hereafter Listed in the Trained-Bands and Trained Troops; And that the said Lord Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, or any two or more of them, shall hereby have power to charge the said parties with Horse and Arms, so as no person be charged with a Harquebuzier

or

or light-Horse, unlesse he hath One hundred pounds per annum in Lands, or be worth One thousand two hundred pounds in Goods and Lands, nor with a Dragoon, unlesse he be worth four hundred pounds in Goods, or forty pounds per annum in Lands; nor with a foot Arms, unlesse he be worth one hundred pounds in Goods, or Ten pounds per annum in Lands.

And be it further Ordained, That all persons Well-affected, being charged and listed to serve as aforesaid, or the Major part of them, shall within their severall and respective Divisions forthwith, and so from time to time as cause shall be, propound and nominate all Colonells, Lieutenant Colonells, Sergeant Majors and Captains over them, being men of ability, and men well-affected; which said Officers being approved and allowed of by the Lord Lieutenants or Deputy Lieutenants, or any three or more of them within their respective Counties and Cities, shall have Commissions accordingly.

And

And be it further Ordained, That all and every person or persons whatsoever, which shall by vertue of this Ordinance be charged to provide Horse or Arms as aforesaid, shall every Moneth after they are so charged, pay to the Treasurers appointed by the Deputy Lieutenants, or any two of them, for the severall and respective Counties, the severall Sums of Money following, viz. Every Horse, Twelve pence, every Foot Six pence, towards the providing of Trumpets, Drums, Colours, and other charges incident to the said Service.

Provided alwayes, that this extraordinary charge, and imposition of Arms, do not continue any longer then during these times of imminent danger, and that it shall be no President for the future.

Provided also, that no Member of either House of Parliament, nor their Menall Servants, nor any of the Assistants of either of the said Houses, be charged by this Ordinance, but that it be left to his or their good affection,

what

What they will do in this Service.

Provided also, that if any person or persons whatsoever shal be overcharged by the said Lord Lieutenants or Deputy Lieutenants, or any two of them of the respective Counties or Cities, that then the said Lord Lieutenants or Deputy Lieutenants, or any three or more of them of the respective Counties or Cities, shall hereby have power to ease such person or persons overcharged, as in their Discretions they shall think fit. And if any Officers or Souldiers of the Trained Bands or Troops have heretofore, since the First of August, in the yeer of our Lord, One thousand Six hundred forty three, refused or neglected; or if they or any other Forces of Horse or Foot, to be raised at any time hereafter, shall refuse or neglect upon Summons, according to this or other Ordinance of Parliament, to attend their charges and duties in their severall and respective places, or to appear with their Horse and Arms, or to send some other Man with such Horse or Arms

Arms as they are or shall be charged withall, Every such Defaulter for every such offence, shall be Fined by the said Lord Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, or any two or more of them, not exceeding the sum of Twenty pounds. And if any person or persons in the said severall and respective Counties, who by a former Ordinance of Parliament may be Impressed, have been, or are hereafter, shall be charged by the said Lord Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, or any two of them to serve in the Arms of any person or persons charged as aforesaid, to finde Arms or Horse, do or shall refuse or neglect to appear at Musters, or to serve upon such Horse, or in such Arms, he or they so refusing or neglecting, shall by the said Deputy Lieutenants, or any three or more of them be Fined, not exceeding the sum of Forty shillings, and Imprisoned untill the said Fine be paid, And the person or persons so refusing, have conformed themselves unto the said Service.

And it is Ordained, That the Lord Lieutenant or Deputy Lieutenants, or any

any three or more of them, or the standing Committee of the severall and respective Associated Counties, may Imprison all such as shall be mutinous or Disturbers of the Peace, and may Fine them, not exceeding the sum of Five pounds: And that it shall be lawfull for the said Lord Lieutenants or Deputy Lieutenants, or any of them, to draw together the Troops and Companies which are to be raised by vertue of this Ordinance, or any part of them, and with the consent of the Major part of any of the said Troops and Companies, to Conduct and leade by themselves, or by such as they or any three or more of them shall appoint, into any of the said Associated Counties, and with them to Oppose, Resist, Kill and Slay, all such as in any Hostile manner declare themselves as Enemies to the King, Parliament and Kingdom: And that it shall and may be lawfull for the said Lord Lieutenants or Deputy Lieutenants, or any one of them in their severall and respective Counties, to charge Carts, Carriages and Horses, for the necessary

tellary Service of the Parliament, allowing for every Cart with Five Horses, after the rate of Twelve pence per Mile, outward onely, and so rateably for more or fewer Horses, and for every single Horse, after the rate of Two pence per Mile, outwards onely.

And in case any shall refuse upon reasonable notice to provide their Carts, Carriages or Horses, to be made use of for the Service aforesaid, It shall be lawfull for the said Deputy Lieutenants, or any one of them, to Imprison the Owners of the said Carts, Carriages or Horses, or to Impose a Fine upon them, not exceeding the sum of Ten pounds.

And be it Ordained, That the petty Constables, & Overseers of the Poor of the severall Parishes within the said respective Counties, and such other persons as shall be nominated by the Deputy Lieutenants of the said Counties, or any two of them, shall be the Collectors of all sums of Money, as shall by vertue of this Ordinance be Impo-

sed or set upon any person or persons within their said Pavilhes, and for their pains they shall be allowed Two pence in the pound for all Monies so by them Collected and leavyed; which said sums of Money so to be set and Collected as aforesaid, shall be paid to the high Constables of the severall Hundreds within the said respective Counties, and in Corporations, to the Major or other head Officer of the said Corporations, who also shall have Two pence in the pound allowed unto them for their pains of making out their Warrants, and receiving and paying over the said Moneys to such Treasurer or Treasurers as shall be appointed in the severall Divisions, by the Deputy Lieutenants of the severall and respective Counties, or any two or more of them, who are to issue forth the same for the use and service of the severall and respective Counties, by the Vote of the Major part of the respective Deputy Lieutenants present, or any three of them present, and by their order, in pursuance thereof under their hands and not otherwise.

And

And the said Treasurers are hereby required to keep a perfect Accompt of all such Moneys as they shall receive and pay by vertue of this Ordinance, and to deliver Copies of their said Accompts unto the standing Committee of their said severall and respective Counties; and the said Treasurers for their charge and paines, shall likewise be allowed Two pence in the pound for all such sums of Money as they shall receive and issue forth by Authority as aforesaid, And if any person or persons chargeable by this Ordinance, shall not within Six dayes after demand, or notice to be left at their dwelling house or usuall place of abode, pay the sum or sums on him or them assessed or set as aforesaid, It shall be lawfull for the said Collectors, any one or more of them, to leavie the sum by way of Distresse, and sale of the Goods of the person & persons so assessed or fined; And in case of Resistance, to call to their assistance any of the Trained Bands or Companies of Volunteers, or other forces of the said respective Counties, who are hereby required to be aiding and assisting

sisting to the said Constables or other Collectors in the Premises, as they will answer the contrary: And if any person or persons which shall be assessed or fined as aforesaid, shall refuse or neglect to pay either their Assessment or Fine to the Constables or other Collectors appointed, within Twelve dayes after it shall be demanded, The Lord Lieutenants or Deputy Lieutenants, or any two or more of them, upon return of the Names of such, who shall so refuse or neglect, shall charge the said person or persons with double as much as he or they were assessed or fined; And if the said persons shall refuse or neglect to pay the said sum so doubled, within Twelve dayes after it shall be demanded, That it shall be lawfull for the said Lord Lieutenants, or Deputy Lieutenants of the said respective Counties, or any two or more of them, to commit the person or persons so refusing or neglecting to Prison; And in case the said Treasurers, high Constables, petty Constables, Overseers of the Poor, or other Collectors to be nominated as aforesaid, shall refuse

refuſe or neglect to leavie and receive the ſums of Money to be aſſeſſed, and ſet, by vertue of this Ordinance, It ſhall be lawfull for the ſaid Lord Lieutenants or Deputy Lieutenants, or any two or more of them of the ſeverall and reſpective Counties, to fine the ſaid Treaſurers, high Conſtables and Collectors, not exceeding the ſum of twenty pounds to be leavyed upon them by way of Diſtreſſe, and ſale of their Goods, and by ſuch perſon or perſons as ſhall be appointed by the ſaid Deputy Lieutenants or any two or more of them.

Provided alwayes, That the Forces to be raiſed by vertue of this Ordinance, ſhall not be carryed out of the ſaid ſeverall and reſpective Counties wherein they are or ſhall be raiſed, otherwiſe then as before in this Ordinance is declared, without the conſent of the ſaid Lord Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants and Committees of the ſeverall and reſpective Counties, or the greater part of them.

FINIS.

Numb. 37. 24.

The true Informer:

Continuing a Collection of the most Speciall and Observable

PASSAGES,

From Yorkshire, Hull, Exceter, Pendennis Castle, Barstaple, Plymouth, Banbury, and other Parts of His Majesties Dominions.

From Saturday June 29. to Saturday July 6. 1644.

I. P. Rupert routed the Yorkshire army of his chief Commanders, slain and taken, all his Ordnance, Bag and Baggage, and himselfe forced to flie into Yorke. Related in a Letter from the L. Fairfax.

II. Barstaple in Devonshire surrendred to the Earle of Essex.

III. Prince Maurice gone into Cornwall, and the Queen to Pendennis Castle.

IV. Forty horse & divers prisoners taken by the L. Grey in Leicest. &c.

V. The Kings going to Evesham, and so for Worcester.

VI. Sir William Waller in pursuit of Him.

Yorke.

Upon Thursday last July 4. the newes from Yorke by a Post which came that day to Towne, was, that the Forces before that City had removed themselves about three miles distant from it. The occasion thereof was, for that on the Lords Day last June 30. they had intelligence that 3000. horse of Prince Ruperts were quartered at Oatley about 20. miles distant from Yorke, and that the rest of his Body were advanced after him: whereupon a Councell of Warre being called by the three

three gallant Commanders, the Earle of *Manchester*, Generall *Leven*, and the Lord *Fairfax*, it was resolved, That they should bring off all their provisions, and slacken the siege for about three miles distance; that 6000. men (or more if there should be occasion) might be added to the 14000. Horse and Foot with Major Generall *Lesley*, Sir *Th. Fairfax*, and the rest that wait P. *Ruperts* motion, and also that they might save the Provisions of the Countrey for themselves; it being P. *Ruperts* chiefe designe to destroy, and straiten them of those provisions they now have in their possession. The besieged in the Citie will not be any wayes bettered by it, or in any more free condition, but only for having a little more tyre: and for prevention of their coming forth, there are severall parties of Foot, besides 1500. Horse, at Wetherby, Wrestell, Cawood, Tadcaster, and other parts, that attend the approaches of the besieged. Also besides the Forces which attend P. *Ruperts* motion (from before York) the Earl of *Denbigh*, Sir *William Brereton*, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, and the Forces with them (being a very considerable and potent Army) are come into Lancashire, and by this time joyned with Sir *John Meldrum*, and the Lancashire Forces, who are ready to follow P. *Rupert* in the Reare, so that (through the assistance of the Almighty) they will be able to incounter with him: and for his expectations from *Montrosse*, *Musgrave*, and the rest, from Newcastle, Cumberland, and Northumberland, they will be so awed and kept in by the Earle of *Calendar*, that in all probability they will not dare to advance for his assistance.

Somersetshire.

The Intelligence out of the West this week is, That his Excellencie the Earle of *Essex*, in his way to Exeter, sent a party of horse and foot to summon Bridgewater, but the Garrison the Towne refused to surrender, declaring their resolutions to keep it for the King, but whether he doth intend to lay siege to that before he goe to Exeter, or no, it is not knowne; on the 27. of *June* last, there came in to his Excellencie within the compasse of 12. miles, about 4000. men who were all drawne into order in a Medow neer *Chard*, where his Excellencie came in person to welcome them, and the Lord *Roberts* Field-Marshall made a Speech of much incouragement unto them, which was received with many expressions of fidelity, affection and

resolution

resolution, to live and die in the defence of the Parliament and common Cause of Religion and Liberty.

Plymouth.

The Garison at *Plymouth* are much incouraged by the comming of their Governour amongst them, and lately sent out a party out of the Towne, who went seven miles into the Country, where they beate up a Quarter of the Enemies, took 44. Horse. and divers prisoners, of which when the Apostate Sir *Richard Greenvile* had information, he came forth against them, but they beat him back in great disorder, and forced him to retreat with the losse of about 40. of his men: Amongst whom were some of note, namely, Colonell *Arundell*, (a Member of the Oxford Junto) and Major *Wiseheart*, were slain, and Colonell *Digby*, (Brother to the Lord *Digby*) wounded in the face: And *Greenvile* and the rest forced to flie.

Derbyshire.

Out of *Derbyshire* it is advertised, That the valiant Commander Sir *John Gell* having sent three Troopes of Horse, and two Troopes of Dragooners, to joine with the Earl of *Denbigh* in Lancashire, had a small party of Horse abroad, who were set upon by a party of the Cavees from Winkefield, and divers of them taken Prisoners, but the Alarum thereof comming to *Derby*, a fresh party were sent out, who fell upon the Enemy in Winkefield Towne, (as they were at Dinner carousing and rejoicing for their successe) recovered all their men, and took 80. of the Enemies Horse; and divers of the Enemy Prisoners, which they brought safe into *Derby*, without the losse of one man.

Westminster.

I shall now give you an account of the Triall of the Archbishop of Canterbury on Friday July 5. The Charge was that day managed against him by M. *Nicholls*, who first insisted upon the 8. & 9 original Article, the effect whereof is, *That the said Archbishop the better to advance his designes to undermine Religion, did advance to Bishopricks, Deanries, to be Chaplains about the King, to be his owne Chaplains, and to be Licensers of Books, such as have been addicted to Poperie and Arminianisme.*

First for Bishops, it was insisted upon, that he had been the means

of promoting divers unworthy men to Bishoprickes, as namely Doctor *Manwaring*, whom he preferred to a Bishoprick, after he had a sentence of disability passed against him in Parliament, D. *Montague* to be Bishop of *Chichester*, after there was a charge against him in Parliament, and one, against whom there was a Remonstrance in Parliament, and his Booke intituled, the Appeal called in by Proclamation, these two had been formerly mentioned upon other occasions, others which he preferred were,

D. Neal Archbishop of Yorke.
D. Lindsay Bishop of Hereford.
D. Corbett Bishop of Peterborough.
D. Wren Bishop of Ely.
D. Pierce Bishop of Bath and Wells.

Doctor *Theodore Price*, whom he indeavoured to prefer to a Bishoprick, but that he shortly after died a reconciled Papist.

For the more full proof of all which, Doctor *Featly*, Master *Chambers*, Master *Walker*, and Master *Smart*, were brought in to testifie the affection of all the said Bishops to Popery.

Those whom he preferred to be Deans were,

Doctor Potter.
D. Manwaring Deane of Worcester.
D. Cosens Deane of Peterborough.

This Doctor *Cosens*, as was then proved by Master *Smart*, had preached in a Sermon of his, *That Calvinists were worse then Papists, and that the Homily against Images were better out of the Booke then in.*

For Doctor *Potter* it was then proved by Doctor *Featly*, that hee was generally esteemed a great *Arminian*, and that in his Book called, *Charity mistaken*, he saies, *That the Romish way is a safe way, if they believe it is safe, but if they do not, he confesseth 'tis not.*

Also he preferred unto Brebendaries, these Superstitious and Popish men.

D. *Bray*, that did expunge divers passages out of Doctor *Clarkes* Sermon, and licensed D. *Pocklingtons* Booke.

D. *Samuel Baker*, Prebendary of Canterbury.

D. *Samuel*

D. *Heylin* Prebendary of Exceter, and two livings besides,
D. *Wykes*, and divers others.

The next was, that he had not onely preferred such as were affected to Poperie and Arminianisme to be Chaplains to His Majesty, but had also intruded upon the Office and Place of the Lord high Chamberlain of England, to whom it did belong to present, and admit His Majesties Chaplains, and that it was used by *William* late Earle of *Pembroke*, but the right honourable the Earle of *Pembroke* that now is, never made use of his Authority, by reason of the way and power the first Archbishop of Canterbury had at Court, as soon as ever he came thither.

The names of the Chaplains preferred by the Archbishop to His Majesty.

D. *Heylin*.	D. *Cozens*.
D. *Laurence*.	D. *Pocklington*.
D. *Beale*.	D. *Heywood*.

Those whom the Archbishop got as Chaplains to himself, and Licensers of Books, as appeared under his own hand, were

D. *William Heywood*.	D. *William Bray*.
D. *Edward Martin*.	D. *Thomas Wykes*.

That concerning D. *Martin* was then declared by D. *Featly*, that in a Sermon of his some yeares since preached at *Paules* Crosse, he did preach universall grace, and universall redemption. The tenents of the rest are well knowne.

The next matter was concerning his presentation of Benefices, wherein he did a double wrong. First in causing divers unworthy men to be presented to Benefices. Secondly, in untrenching upon the Priviledge of the Master of the Court of Wards.

For the first, it was instanced in D. *Heylin* and D. *Jackson*, who were both reputed Arminians, and their Books did plainly shew the same to all the world.

For the second, it was proved that there were 150. that had been presented to Benefices in the Kings Gift, and none by the Master of the Court of Wards, but onely by him, which the Master of the Wards ought to do in case of Minority.

The

of promoting divers unworthy men to Biſhoprickes, as namely Doctor *Manwaring*, whom he preferred to a Biſhoprick, after he had a ſentence of diſability paſſed againſt him in Parliament, D. *Mountague* to be Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, after there was a charge againſt him in Parliament, and one, againſt whom there was a Remonſtrance in Parliament, and his Booke intituled, the Appeal called in by Proclamation, theſe two had been formerly mentioned upon other occaſions, others which he preferred were,

D. Neal Archbiſhop of Yorke.
D. Lindſay Biſhop of Hereford.
D. Corbett Biſhop of Peterborough.
D. Wren Biſhop of Ely.
D. Pierce Biſhop of Bath and Wells.

Doctor *Theodore Price*, whom he indeavoured to prefer to a Biſhoprick, but that he ſhortly after died a reconciled Papiſt.

For the more full proof of all which, Doctor *Featly*, Maſter *Chambers*, Maſter *Walker*, and Maſter *Smart*, were brought in to teſtifie the affection of all the ſaid Biſhops to Popery.

Thoſe whom he preferred to be Deans were,

Doctor Potter.
D. Manwaring Deane of Worceſter.
D. Coſens Deane of Peterborough.

This Doctor *Coſens*, as was then proved by Maſter *Smart*, had preached in a Sermon of his, *That Calviniſts were worſe then Papiſts and that the Homily againſt Images were better out of the Booke then in.*

For Doctor *Potter* it was then proved by Doctor *Featly*, that hee was generally eſteemed a great *Arminian*, and that in his Booke called, *Charity miſtaken*, he ſaies, *That the Romiſh way is a ſafe way, if they believe it is ſafe, but if they do not, he confeſſeth 'tis not.*

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D. *Samuel Baker*, Prebendary of Canterbury.

D. *Samuel*

D. *Heylin* Prebendary of Exeter, and two livings besides.
D. *Wykes*, and divers others.

The next was, that he had not onely preferred such as were affected to Popetie and Arminianisme to be Chaplains to His Majesty, but had also intruded upon the Office and Place of the Lord high Chamberlain of England, to whom it did belong to present, and admit His Majesties Chaplains, and that it was used by *William* late Earle of *Pembroke*, but the right honourable the Earle of *Pembroke* that now is, never made use of his Authority, by reason of the sway and power the little Archbishop of Canterbury had at Court, as soon as ever he came thither.

The names of the Chaplains preferred by the Archbishop to His Majesty,

D. *Heylin.*	D. *Cierne.*
D. *Laurence.*	D. *Pocklington.*
D. *Beale.*	D. *Heywood.*

Those whom the Archbishop got as Chaplains to himself, and Licensers of Books, as appeared under his own hand, were

D. *William Heywood.*	D. *William Beal.*
D. *Edward Martin.*	D. *Thomas Wykes.*

That concerning D. *Martin* was then declared by D. *Featly*, that in a Sermon of his some yeares since preached at *Paules* Crosse he did preach universall grace, and universall redemption. The tenents of the rest are well knowne.

The next matter was concerning his presentation of Benefices, wherein he did a double wrong. First in causing divers unworthy men to be presented to Benefices. Secondly, an intrenching upon the Priviledge of the Master of the Court of Wards.

For the first, it was instanced in D. *Heylin*, and D. *Jackson*, who were both reputed Arminians, and their Books did plainly shew the same to all the world.

For the second, it was proved that there were 250. that had been presented to Benefices in the Kings Gift, and none by the Master of the Court of Wards, but onely by him, which the Master of the Wards ought to do in case of Minority.

The

The next was, that he sent one D. *Chappell* to Dublin (for he would not rest here in England) to be President of the Colledge there. He (as was proved by D. *Hoyle*) was a great favourer of Arminianisme, and brought up all his Pupils as *Baker*, *Bray*, and others, in that way: so that when some of them came to London and preached divers Arminian points, severall of their acquaintance asking them what Religion they would maintaine, they answered, *That they should know twenty yeeres hence*. That the said *Chappell* did himselfe maintaine Justification by Works, contrary to the Scripture and the Articles of our Church. Also, That when the Synod in Ireland had concluded of divers things in his absence, he caused them all to be undone and recalled, and one time made this motion to the Proloeutor, THAT PRIESTS SHOULD NOT BE SUBJECT TO THE SECULAR COURT. And as a further Testimony of the influence of the Archbishops power into that Kingdome, a Letter from the Archbishop of Armagh directed to him was read, in which, amongst other things, he writes, *And to your honour* (meaning the Archbishops) *be it spoken, your name hath brought such a terrour into all mens spirits, that the very naming of you at the Councell Board is as a Gorgons head to strike them dead.*

Then they proceeded to the Original Article, concerning the Archbishops suppressing of preaching and Lecturers: which in regard many had beene produced upon other occasions, these were only named, M. *Walker*, M. *Fowle*, M. *Burton*, M. *Wilson*, M. *Culmer*, &c. all which were either censured, fined, or imprisoned, for preaching against Popery and Arminianisme. It was further added, That the Archbishop had a project in his head to suppresse all Lecturers, and to that end got Instructions from the King, that all Bishops might give him an account of their suppression in all Dioceses, and amongst the rest Bishop *Wren* gives his account thus, *That he was not guilty of Lecturers preaching, for he had not left one in all his Diocesse.* Also the said Archbishop ordered, that in severall places every Lecturer after he had said the Nicene Creed, should go up into the Pulpit with his Surplice and Hood, and by no means to have any prayer before or after Sermon, but what was appointed by the Canon.

Instance was made of Master *Lee* of Wolverhampton, who because he was for his Orthodox and sound preaching much followed

by

by the people, the Archbishop caused a Letter to be written to Sir *Nathaniel Brent*, requiring him to watch him, and if it were possible, to find some fault in him, and prosecute him in the High Commission Court.

After this Mr. *Nicolls* proceeded to the 3. Article, [illegible]

[illegible]

Written in the Margent [illegible]

It was further proved by Mr. *Pryn* (a learned Member of the honourable House of Commons) one of the Proofes, That when he came to move the Archbishop [illegible]

[illegible]

was a worke of such piety, [illegible] great benefit to the Kingdome, [illegible]

[illegible]

The names of those worthy men who undertook this good worke, were

Four Divines,

D. Gregg,		
M. [illegible]	M. Davis.	M. Sherland.
D. Sibs,	M. Heywood.	M. Samuel Brown.
M. Davenport.	M. Bridges.	M. John White.

Foure Lawyers.

So that (as was well observed by Mr. *Nicolls*) though the worke was a very good worke, the men very good men, and the end a very good end; yet this must be destroyed, because the Archbishop had no mind to preaching.

On

On Friday July 5. by a Letter from an Officer under Major Generall *Browne*, dated July 3. it was certified, that the night before they quartered in the fields within half a mile of Tooting, Sir *W. Waller's* Army being in the town and villages adjacent. So that now they are joyned together, Major Generall *Browne* having raised a Regiment consisting of 600. foot, and 200. horse, thanks to the Essex and Hertfordshire Forces that since came to us with 4. Regiments, each Regiment consisting of 1500. The King with his Forces quartered at Aylesbury 3. miles from Banbury, on Munday last.

On Sunday July 7. a Letter came from the D. *Yorke* fleet, which was then read in the House of Peers; the effect whereof was,

That the cloud which lately hung over their heads was turned into a glorious Sunshine, God having given them a great victory over the Forces of [illegible] *that they had taken and slain many of his chiefe Commanders, routed his Forces, taken* [illegible] *Ordnance, Ammunition and Carriages, and that himself with* [illegible] *fled into Torbay, and there is with the Marquesse of Newcastle's Forces, who will make out against them as that time: all which was done with no great losse; the particulars whereof shortly to be sent.*

By Letters from Dorchester in Dorsetshire, July 7. it was advertised, that his Excellency with three Horse, going towards Exeter. That Prince *Maurice* was gone from Exeter into Cornwall, and the Queen to Pendennis Castle. That the Inhabitants of Barnstaple had declared themselves for the Parliament, whereupon a party of the Kings forces came against them, threatning to fire the Towne, but were repulsed with loss by the Townsmen, whereupon the Lord Generall hath sent a party to preserve that Towne against the Enemy.

By Letters out of Leicestershire it is certified, That the Lord *Grey* hath fallen upon the Enemy there, slain some, taken 40. Horse, and divers Prisoners.

MUSEVM BRITAN ICVM

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